The Making of Southern Karnataka

Society, Polity and Culture in the Early Medieval Period

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Preface

This study is an attempt to reconstruct a picture of society in the region of southern Karnataka from the fifth to the early eleventh centuries, delineating its political, social and religious dimensions.

This book and the research from which it is derived would never have been completed without the support of my parents, my husband and my brother. I also appreciate the moral support and encouragement of my two grandmothers, who were almost as anxious as I that this work be completed and published. My sons, Abhijit and Amrit, have been a source of delightful distraction from my preoccupation with the research and book for the past decade.

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Abbreviations

Ag	Arkalgud
Ak	Arsikere
Al	Alur
An	Anekal
Bg	Bagepalli
Bl	Belur
Bn	Bangalore
Bp	Bowringpet
BRW	Black and Red Ware
Ch	Chamrajanagar
Cm	Chikmagalur
Ct	Chintamani
Cn	Channarayapatna
Cp	Channapatna
CB	Chikka-Ballapura
DB	Dodda-Ballapura
Dv	Devanahalli
Gd	Gauribidanur
Gu	Gundlupet
Hg	Heggadedevanakote
Hn	Hassan
HN	Hole-Narsipur
Hs	Hosakote
I.E.G.	*Indian Epigraphical Glossary*
Kd	Kadur
Kk	Kankanahalli
Kl	Kolar
Kn	Krishnarajanagar
Ko	Kollegal
Kr	Krishnarajapete
Ma	Magadi
Mb	Mulbagal
Md	Mandya

Mi	Madhugiri
Mj	Manjarabad
Ml	Malavalli
Mr	Malur
Mu	Maddur
My	Mysore
Ng	Nagamangala
Nj	Nanjanagud
Nl	Nelamangala
Pg	Pavagada
Pp	Piriyapatna
Ppu	Pandavapura
Sa	Sagar
Sb	Sorab
Sd	Sidlaghatta
Si	Sira
Sh	Shimoga
Sk	Shikarpur
Sp	Srinivaspur
Sr	Srirangapatna
Tm	Tumkur
TN	Tirumakudalu Narsipur (T. Narsipur)
Tp	Tiptur
Yl	Yelandur

Transliteration of Diacritical Marks

KANNADA	DEVANAGARI	ENGLISH
ಅ	अ	a
ಆ	आ	ā
ಇ	इ	i
ಈ	ई	ī
ಉ	उ	u
ಊ	ऊ	ū
ಎ	ए	e
ಏ		ē
ಐ	ऐ	ai
ಒ	ओ	o
ಓ		ō
ಔ	औ	au
ಅಂ	अं	aṁ
ಅಃ	अः	aḥ
ಋ	ऋ	ṛ
ಕ	क	ka
ಖ	ख	kha
ಗ	ग	ga
ಘ	घ	gha
ಙ	ङ	ṅa
ಚ	च	ca
ಛ	छ	cha
ಜ	ज	ja
ಝ	झ	jha
ಞ	ञ	ña
ಟ	ट	ṭa
ಠ	ठ	ṭha
ಡ	ड	ḍa
ಢ	ढ	ḍha
ಣ	ण	ṇa
ತ	त	ta
ಥ	थ	tha
ದ	द	da
ಧ	ध	dha

KANNADA	DEVANAGARI	ENGLISH
ನ	न	na
ಪ	प	pa
ಫ	फ	pha
ಬ	ब	ba
ಭ	भ	bha
ಮ	म	ma
ಯ	य	ya
ರ	र	ra
ಲ	ल	la
ವ	व	va
ಶ	श	śa
ಷ	ष	ṣa
ಸ	स	sa
ಹ	ह	ha
ಳ		ḷa
ೞ		ḻa
ಱ		ṟa
ಕ್ಷ	क्ष	kṣa
ತ್ರ	त्र	tra
ಜ್ಞ	ज्ञ	jña

Introduction

Southern Karnataka first emerges from the mists of prehistory in the fourth century, when the Gangas established a small principality in the neighbourhood of Kolar. This probably occurred as a result of some stimulus from northern Karnataka, which had been a part of the Satavahana principality. From at least the second century AD, Banavasi in the North Kanara district was the capital of a branch of the Satavahanas—the Cutukulananda Satakarnis. The Kadambas ousted the Cutukulananda Satakarnis to establish their own kingdom with its capital at Banavasi around the same time as the establishment of the Ganga kingdom by Konganivarman of the Jahnaveya lineage *(kula)*, and were themselves supplanted towards the close of the sixth century by the Chalukyas of Badami. The Gangas continued to hold sway over most of the upper Kaveri valley until the early eleventh century, except for a brief period when the Rashtrakutas established a viceroyalty in the region after overthrowing Shivamara I Ganga in the early ninth century.

It is hardly surprising, then, that the area over which the Gangas held sway came to have a distinct identity of its own. The territory ruled by them developed a corporate identity, and came to be known as the Ninety-six Thousand country in as early as the first quarter of the eighth century (Gopal et al. 1985, 7: Md 35, Ng 149); it was designated Gangavadi or Ganga *maṇḍala* by the ninth century (Rice 1905, 12: Mi 99). That the regional identity was closely linked to the Ganga overlordship is indicated by the fact that even when their dynastic rivals, the Rashtrakutas (Luders 1896–97, 338–49) and the Cholas (Gopal et al. 1984, 6: Sr 78), conquered this region, it was still known as Ganga maṇḍala. The Cholas, in fact, tried to break this association by renaming the region Muḍigoṇḍaśōḷamaṇḍalam (Rice 1905, 9: Cp 42, 84).

Gangavadi, like Banavasi-12,000, appears to have had an identity distinct from that of Karnata province *(dēśa)*. Pampa distinguishes between the Karnata and Vanavasi (Banavasi) districts *(viṣaya)* in his *Ādipurāṇam* (Narasimha Sastri 1980, VIII.65 *vacana*). Karnata dēśa appears to have signified the northern parts of modern Karnataka, particularly the units of Belvola dēśa and Purigere-300. The Kannada spoken in these units is described as pure *(tiruḷu)* in Pampa's *Vikramarjunavijayam* (Anantharangachar 1977, XIV.58) and Ranna's *Sāhasabhīmavijayam*

(Kulkarni 1985, I:42). Both authors preferred this form of Kannada in their works to that spoken in Banavasi and Gangavadi. This was despite the fact that Pampa appears to have been greatly attached to the Banavasi-12,000 region, while Ranna received his education and began his career as a soldier and poet in Gangavadi. Nevertheless, the heartland of Kannada appears to have been the Bijapur and Dharwad region, and not the southern parts of modern Karnataka.

An attempt has been made in this study to examine the emergence of the state in the region of Gangavadi. For purposes of comparison the Banavasi region, which had a longer history of state formation and was more exposed to stimuli from the north, is taken up for study. The Aluvakheda (coastal Karnataka), which also witnessed state formation in the second phase of the period under study (eighth century onwards), has been excluded owing to a paucity of epigraphic evidence. It would thus be more accurate to describe the geographical scope of this work as south-interior Karnataka.

The first chapter on settlement geography describes the physical features of the region and goes on to examine whether the nature of the larger politico-geographical divisions – the viṣaya and the nāḍu – were administrative or agrarian units. The significance of numerical suffixes and the existence of nāḍu-level corporate groups and chieftaincies is also examined. Thereafter, the village is taken up as a discrete unit of analysis: the nature of village boundaries, field and street layouts, types of soils, irrigation works and crops grown have been dealt with in detail. The nature of hamlets *(paḷḷi)* has been examined to determine whether they were principally tribal settlements affiliated to larger, upper-caste establishments, or were offshoots of these as irrigation led to the expansion of settlement space in villages. Evidence for the existence of pastoralism and mixed farming is also taken up in this chapter. Finally, the nature of urbanism and the emergence of urban centres is examined in the last section.

The first section in the chapter on political scenarios studies the background of the emergence of the Gangas and examines the political developments of the period under study. Two phases have been distinguished for this purpose. The first phase includes the period from c. AD 400 to AD 725, when the Gangas established their overlordship in this region, and the second phase

encompasses the period AD 725 to AD 1030, when the Cholas were well entrenched in this region. The predominance of Sanskrit copper-plate records (reflecting a brahmanical socio-political order) in the first phase as opposed to the predominance of lithic, vernacular records (reflecting a regional variant of the earlier order) in the second phase is the main justification for this periodisation. After examining the political history, Chapter 3 studies the composition of the subordinate class of feudatories *(sāmanta)*. As will be seen, the feudatories came to include groups with varied origins in the second phase: some belonged to recognised lineages, while others merely used the title of *arasa* (the vernacular variant of the Sanskrit *rāja*) without mentioning their origins. Village headmen *(gāvuṇḍa)* and officials like superintendents *(pergaḍe)* also came to be classified as feudatories. This is in contrast to the first phase, when brahmanas and a few sāmantas with the title of arasa were the only subordinates to whom there is reference in the inscriptions.

Chapter 4 studies the nature of the state in early medieval Karnataka. Apart from analysing the development of the polity as it emerges from the previous two chapters, it specifically studies the nature of land tenures under which the grantees held land; the dues exacted from the peasants; the evidence for peasant and artisanal bondage; the service obligations of the subordinates to the overlord; and the analytic inseparability of the cultivating tenant and the military subordinate. On the basis of all this, and in the light of the current debates on the nature of the state in early medieval India more generally, I have attempted to characterise the state in southern Karnataka as feudal, in opposition to the competing theories of segmentary state and integrative polity.

The fifth chapter on religious beliefs and practices takes up the development of Jainism, Shaivism and Vaishnavism separately. The patterns of patronage, the evolving Jaina pantheon, the structure of the Jaina temples and their rituals and changes in the Jaina monastic order are studied in the first section. The second section examines the impact of Vedic brahmanism, which enjoyed maximum state patronage in the first phase. The varying responses of the *śrōtrīya* brahmanas to declining state patronage is also examined. The third section takes up developments in Shaivism along the same lines as that on Jainism. The fourth section examines the various causes for the low popularity of Vaishnavism

in southern Karnataka, and the various forms in which the deity was worshipped. The fifth section studies the cults of the mother-goddesses, which enjoyed tremendous popularity in this period. The worship of memorial stones and the construction of shrines for the dead *(samādhi)* are also studied in the context of the forms of worship of the deified dead in the Sangam period and their survival into the modern period. The role of female temple servants *(dēvadāsi)* in temple worship has been taken up in Appendix IV.

The sources for this study are principally epigraphic, although some use has been made of archaeological reports on excavations and temples. This study also draws on tenth-century Kannada works such as the *Vaḍḍārādhane*, Pampa's *Vikramārjunavijayam* (also known as the *Pampa Bhārata*) and *Ādipurāṇam*, Ranna's *Sāhasabhīmavijayam* (also known as the *Gadāyuddham*) and *Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇam* and Ponna's *Shāntipurāṇam*. Chavundaraya's *Triṣaṣṭilakṣaṇa Mahāpurāṇam* (also known as the *Chāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇam*), a prose work, has also been consulted. These literary works have been used to corroborate inscriptions and to explicate the ethos of the period.

Chapter I

HISTORICAL AND SETTLEMENT GEOGRAPHY

Physical and Economic Geography

Three geographical regions may be distinguished in the area of study:
The malnad (hill country).
The semi-malnad (an intermediate zone).
The southern maidan (plains).

THE MALNAD

This is the mainly forested, hilly country lying between the eastern edge of the Western Ghats and the western boundary of the open, gently rolling plateau. This boundary is characterised by some hilly, tree-clad country, which represents the transitional zone of the semi-malnad.

The width of the malnad varies greatly, since both the deeply dissected edge of the Western Ghats and the western margin of the open plateau have many curves and flexures. The normal range in width is between 48 and 60 km, but it is only 5 km wide at Sakleshpura, where the headwaters of the Netravati have cut back the ghats' edge and are about to capture the waters of the Hemavati.

The malnad south of the Birur-Bhatkal line is predominantly higher than the main plateau level in the north. The hills in the southern malnad reach 900–1200 m in many areas, as compared to their average height of 600–900 m in the northern malnad. In the south, erosion by west-flowing rivers into the higher country has been sharper and deeper than in the north, producing spectacular gorges and ridges west of Mercara (Coorg district). Even the east-flowing rivers, the Kaveri for instance, flow in rather narrow valleys and cut into steep-sided, often conical hills.

The malnad is characteristically a region of high rainfall, with a peak in July during the southwest monsoons. There is a contrast, however, between the western parts, which commonly receive

more than 250 cm of rainfall, and the eastern parts or the leeward side, which in certain areas receive below 100 cm between May and October. As a result, the traditional malnad economy consisting of rice and spices is seldom subjected to crop failure in the west, although this is common in the east. The mean monthly temperature in the malnad varies between 20°C and 25°C all year round, making it slightly cooler than the coastal region due to its altitude.

The malnad is thickly forested, particularly so on the lower slopes of the Western Ghats. Tall hardwoods predominate in this wet, evergreen zone. The middle zone of the malnad contains teak, rosewood and laurelwood, while sandalwood can frequently be found in the tropical moist deciduous forest on the eastern margins. Bamboo clumps are common on the margins of streams; however, some of the bamboo cover on open land may be the legacy of shifting cultivation practices.

The malnad economy hinges on small, one-crop, rain-fed, terraced paddy fields. Reliable rainfall ensures adequate returns, except on the eastern margins in the years of inadequate or irregular precipitation. In many parts of the malnad, betel leaves, pepper and cardamom are also grown in addition to the subsistence crop. The forests serve both as a source of leaf manure and as pasturage for cattle, particularly buffaloes, which are found in large numbers.

THE SEMI-MALNAD

This region runs north to south along the entire length of Karnataka immediately to the east of the malnad proper. In terms of configuration the semi-malnad could be called the maidan, since high, undulating plains predominate in this region; but the proportion of woodland and the many variations in climate and agricultural economy offer a differentiation between the true malnad and the true maidan. The width of the semi-malnad varies between 30 and 60 km, approaching the latter limit in the area south of Mysore city.

Typically, the semi-malnad is a rolling plateau. It is somewhat more dissected than the maidan, which allows for tank irrigation. The southern portions of the semi-malnad are, on the average, higher (in the range of 800–900 m) than the northern portions, which stand at an average height of 600 m. Around Chikmagalur

the semi-malnad reaches a height of over 1000 m. The landscape includes deciduous forests, but there are also areas of almost continuous tank country, as in the Yagachi basin between Belur and Chikmagalur (several settlements in this area date to the ninth century AD). Such tank country resembles that of the main part of the southern maidan but with more luxuriant vegetation, and the hill slopes are tree-clad in contrast to the bare granite or tumbled boulders common in most parts of the southern maidan.

The semi-malnad has red soil for the most part, although there is a distinctive belt of brown clay soil in the western parts of Mysore district. These have considerable depth under moderate conditions of rainfall and in areas newly cleared of forest cover. On the drier margins, however, and given flat ground, a soil similar to the black cotton soil of the northern maidan develops from this brown clay soil.

The semi-malnad enjoys a rainfall ranging from 50 to 90 cm between May and October. The rainfall peaks in May (significant in the extreme south, under the influence of the pre-southwest monsoon conditions), July (the main southwest monsoons) and October (under retreating southwest monsoon conditions). The broad pattern of seasonal temperature variations is similar to that of the coastal region and the malnad, ranging between 20°C and 30°C.

Rice is the most important crop of the semi-malnad, though varieties of millet (*ragi* and *jōḷa*) and spices are also grown to a considerable extent. Pulses and oilseeds are the other important crops. The southern part of the semi-malnad shows an affinity with the *kar*-ragi- oil-seeds- pulses-growing area of the south-western maidan, south of Mysore.

Hassan district in particular, and the semi-malnad in general, is marked by high densities of cattle population. In this respect, too, it is a continuation of the southern maidan.

THE SOUTHERN MAIDAN

The southern maidan is a rolling plateau relieved by boulder-crowned granite hills. It is framed by high ground in the shape of the letter H. The western leg of this letter is the eastern edge of the malnad, at a height of 900–1000 m. The eastern leg is the line of charnockite or granite hills from the Bilirangan Hills south of

Kollegal (measuring up to 1700 m), stretching northwards through Ramanagaram to Madhugiri and Pavagada (1000–1200 m), which merge in the northwest with the ore-bearing hills of the Dharwad series. The crossbar of the letter H is the clearly identifiable belt of high ground at 900 m between Ramanagaram and Hole-Narsipur. The southern part of the letter H encloses the main part of the Kaveri basin, though the crossbar does not form the watershed between the Tungabhadra and the Kaveri rivers. The northern bay of the letter H contains much plateau surface at heights of 600–700 m, which drains partly south to the Kaveri and partly north to the Vedavati and the Tungabhadra. This low ground is broken by mineral- and granite-bearing ridges, mainly in the Dharwad series. One series of interrupted ridges runs from Chiknayakanahalli (Tumkur district) to near Davangere (Chitradurga district) and to the Dambal Hills in the northern maidan. Another set of ridges sweeps northwards from near Krishnarajapete (Mandya district) to the southern maidan at Honnali (Shimoga district). East of the letter H the 900 m plateau surface is seen in the highest parts of Bangalore. It is continued in the north in the raised rim formed by two systems of north–south gneissic hills. The first runs from Gudibanda to near Chikka-Ballapura (Kolar district), and the second runs due south, with interruptions, from east of Bagepalli almost to the state boundary in Bangarpet taluk (Kolar district), forming important masses of boulder-strewn hills west of Chintamani, Kolar town and Bangarpet. North of the Nandi Hills there is a sharp break of slope to the middle Penner basin. To the east and south of the maidan the plateau surfaces are actively and sharply dissected at low levels by the tributaries of the Palar and the Ponnaiyar in the plains of Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu.

The southern maidan is a region of cool and equable temperatures ranging from 10°C–20°C in winter and 20°C–30°C in summer. The rainfall is sparse and variable, ranging between 50 and 90 cm, with a main peak in October and a subsidiary peak in May. The early May rainfall is important to agriculture in the southwestern parts of the maidan, since a kar crop of ragi and jowar is sown with these rains. In the eastern parts of the southern maidan, however, the main crop is grown in July, and the October peak under retreating southwest monsoon conditions is also important. The western fringe of the southern maidan has a

rainfall pattern similar to the semi-malnad with peaks in May and July, the latter being the more important. It enjoys reliable rainfall and has a high proportion of irrigated land depending on small tanks, which even out minor fluctuations in rainfall.

The vegetation zones covering the southern maidan are, broadly, tropical thorn in the central and eastern parts and tropical dry deciduous forests in the southern and western regions. Forests of all types show a strong concentration on ridges and residual hills above the main plateau surfaces. Shrubs exist mainly on the broad, flat plateau tops, and are used as rough pasturage. These shrubs cover over half the total area east of the ridges between Kanakapura and Tumkur, and further east from Bagepalli to Bangarpet.

The southern maidan has predominantly red soil, which varies greatly in texture and mineral content according to topography. Poor, gravelly soil predominates in the area of residual hills and boulders in the east, and immature, coarse forest soils, with some humus, is present in the better-clad hills of the west. The scrubby plateau tops generally have coarse, sandy or gravelly soil, which is eroded and poor in humus. Often black and fertile on first clearance, it then rapidly loses its nutrients. Mixed red and black soils occur in the north-central and southern parts of this region. Their distribution coincides with flat areas within or near the margins of the sparser rainfall regions.

The proportion of uncultivated to sown lands is very high—commonly fifty per cent, but going up to ninety per cent in Pavagada and Gubbi (Tumkur district) and Kollegal (Mysore district). Pasturelands account for about half the uncultivated lands. Dry fields account for the greater part of cultivated lands and are used largely for growing ragi, usually over most of the region, intersown with a line of mixed fodder and jowar along with pulses. Wet lands are used for the main crop, paddy, or for sugarcane. Tank-fed or well-irrigated gardens yield coconut, areca, betel vines, pepper, etc.

Even given the greater availability of pasturelands in the southern maidan, livestock densities here are still strikingly high, with a concentration in the areas adjacent to the semi-malnad and in the south-central and eastern parts of the region. This is perhaps related to a higher demand for plough teams on red soil; a greater availability of pasturage and a long tradition of stockbreeding are other factors that account for this phenomenon.

Sheep and goats form a large part of the livestock of the southern maidan, particularly in its southern reaches. In places they even outnumber cattle in stock units.

Viṣaya and Nāḍu: The Nature of Politico-geographical Units

Politico-geographical units were termed *rāṣṭra* (district), viṣaya and dēśa in the pre-eighth-century period (first phase) and nāḍus in the epigraphs of the eighth to the tenth centuries (second phase). This change may be partly attributed to the fact that in the first phase Sanskrit copper-plate inscriptions predominated, while in the second, lithic inscriptions in Kannada outnumbered the copper-plates. Thus, the vernacular term nāḍu came to largely replace the Sanskrit term viṣaya, although the latter continued to be used in copper-plate inscriptions even in the second phase (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: Kn 49).

The change in nomenclature, however, was not limited to the replacement of the term viṣaya by nāḍu. Nāḍus were, by and large, assigned a numerical suffix. This was not unheard of even in the first phase; thus, the Keregalur plates (Hassan taluk, Hassan district) of the fifth century assign the suffix of Eight Thousand to Vallavi viṣaya (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Hn 10). The meaning and significance of these numerical suffixes has been the subject of debate for a long time. Similarly, the question arises as to whether viṣayas and nāḍus were administrative or agrarian units, and whether the change in nomenclature also implied a change in the character of the units. Considering the fact that a number of units of the first phase, such as Pumrastra, Sindhuthaya rāṣṭra, Marugare rāṣṭra and Kuvalala viṣaya continued in the second phase as Punnadu, Sinda nāḍu-8,000, Marugare nāḍu-300 and Kuvalala nāḍu-300,[1] the chances of a fundamental change of character of the units seem slim. However, new sub-units appear to have emerged continually within these older entities. Thus, there are references to Edenadu-70 within Punnadu-6,000, Tagare-70 and

[1] All references to politico-geographical units can be looked up in Appendix I. I shall therefore omit the inscriptional references in the text. Appendix I is arranged chronologically, starting with the fifth-century references.

Manale-alke-300 within Sinda nāḍu-8,000, Ededinde-70 within Marugare nāḍu-300 and Agali-12 in Kuvalala nāḍu-300.

Apart from these, a large number of new units are mentioned in the inscriptions of the second phase: Badagare nāḍu-300, Edettore nāḍu-1,000, Aridalke-70, Karegadu-70 and Asandi nāḍu-300, which are mentioned for the first time in eighth-century records; Beddoregare, Kongal nāḍu-8,000, Sige nāḍu, Tore nāḍu, Nugu nāḍu, and Bayal nāḍu, which are first referred to in ninth-century epigraphs; and Kotu nāḍu, Adiraru-12, Kuppa nāḍu, Kundur nāḍu, Kalkali nāḍu and Mandali nāḍu-1,000, which seem to emerge in the tenth century. These are merely instances. An exhaustive list of references to politico-geographical units is compiled in Appendix I.

When postulated, as above, that a unit emerges in a particular century, it is assumed – as Subbarayalu did in his seminal study on nāḍus in the Chola dominions – that the first reference to a nāḍu is taken as the approximate date of its creation, notwithstanding vagaries in the availability of epigraphic evidence (Subbarayalu 1973, 21). Burton Stein has questioned this, arguing that in the absence of evidence of sustained population growth, immigration or adoption of a new technology, the tempo of agrarian expansion suggested by Subbarayalu is unacceptable. In his view, the majority of the units referred to in the Chola records were in existence during the reign of Rajaraja I. New references indicated not a new creation but a new recognition of Chola overlordship (Stein 1980, 93). In my opinion, however, it seems implausible that any unit within Cholamandalam, the heartland of the Chola empire, should have remained independent of Chola suzerainty, particularly when Chola military might was at its peak during the reigns of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I.

Moreover, Stein's suggestion that new references to units indicate acceptance of the overlordship of the dominant power of the region is inadmissible for southern Karnataka. The political situation here was always fluid; Ganga control over Gangavadi was overthrown at least once in the beginning of the ninth century, and frequently threatened thereafter by the military expeditions of the Rashtrakutas and later the Chalukyas of Kalyani. In Banavasi-12,000, on the other hand, the feudatory at the local level changed frequently, although the unit as a whole remained, successively over the centuries, with the Kadambas (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 29,176,

264), the Chalukyas (1902, 7: Sk 10, 154; 1904, 8: Sb 15, 411, 571; 1904, 8: Sa 79) and the Rashtrakutas (Krishna 1941, 191–92 no. 29; Rice 1904, 8: Sb 1, 9, 10). In the reign of Govinda III Rashtrakuta, for instance, the Mavali inscriptions (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) reveal that at least three individuals ruled Banavasi-12,000: Madanaga-arasa (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 1), Ereyanga (1904, 8: Sb 9) and Rajaditya Pallava Nolamba (1904, 8: Sb 10, 22). There are also references to feudatories who ruled over only a part *(bhāga)* of Banavasi-12,000 (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 240). Even when a claim is made for authority over the whole nāḍu, the sāmanta may in actual fact have held only a part of the unit. Thus, while the Kakkarasi inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 954 states that *Mahāsāmantādhipati Trikundapuravarēśvara* Machiya-arasa was ruling as king (arasa) over the Twelve Thousand country from Edenadu, the Bettadakurali inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of the same year refers to the rule of Javanaisami over Bana(va)si nāḍu (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 202). As the Kirugunise inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 959 clarifies, Machiya-arasa's rule extended only over Edenadu (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 501), although he had claimed to have ruled the whole of Banavasi-12,000 in the earlier record. Similarly, the Jambehalli inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 972–73 refers to the rule of Shantivarman-arasa over the Twelve Thousand country (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 44) while two Bennur inscriptions (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of the same year mention Chattayyadeva as the King of Banavasi-12,000 under the overlordship of Kakkaladeva (1904, 8: Sb 454, 457). Thus, while Banavasi was under the nominal overlordship of one dynasty, the political situation at the local level was somewhat different. However, this does not appear to have affected inscriptional references to nāḍus.

There are also references to territorial units without any mention being made of the overlord. An inscription from Sosale (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district), which merely mentions Vadakare nāḍu and its ruler Vikramaditya-arasa (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 120) is a case in point. This inscription probably belongs to the period when the Rashtrakutas were trying to supplant the Gangas in southern Karnataka. It seems, therefore, that the references to territorial units in epigraphs did not depend on their recognition of the dominant power of the region, at least

insofar as southern Karnataka was concerned. Thus, Subbarayalu may be followed in his assumption that the date of the first reference to a nāḍu is fairly close to that of its new emergence. It is, however, necessary to recollect that the epigraphic record is far from complete and has numerous lacunae. The scope for error is therefore considerable.

One reason for the spurt in references to territorial units in the second phase as opposed to the first phase is that lithic inscriptions, which contain copious geographical information and are easier to locate, date from the eighth century onwards. Prior to that there are, for the most part, only copper-plate inscriptions in which geographical information is sparse and far more difficult to locate.

Nevertheless, it does seem that the second phase saw the steady expansion of agriculture and the opening up of new tracts to settlement. As will be seen in the third section, new village settlements were constantly emerging, particularly in the fertile Kaveri valley with its abundant water resources. This may explain the emergence of new, small units within the older, mammoth units, such as Punnadu-6,000. The sixth-century Mamballi copper-plates (Yelandur taluk, Mysore district) describe Pumrastra (the earlier name of Punnadu-6,000) as being "adorned with the Kaveri and Kapini rivers, with forests lining the banks of the two rivers which included plantain, areca nut, sugarcane and betel vines" (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Yl 167). Second-phase records indicate that a new sub-unit, Edenadu had come into existence by the ninth century, which included settlements on the right bank of the Kabbani in the Nanjanagud and Chamrajanagar taluks (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 278, 294, 239; 1972, 1: 1–5 no. 1; 1975, 4: Ch 114). Similarly, to judge from the provenance of the inscriptions mentioning it, Edettore nāḍu-1,000 seems to have been located on the left bank of the Kabbani River (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 183; 1974, 3: Nj 193). Another nāḍu in the Kaveri valley was the Badagare nāḍu-300, which lay on the north bank of the Kaveri in the T. Narsipur and Malavalli taluks (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 120; 1979, 7: Ml 120). Early in the eleventh century there are references to Idai nāḍu, which encompassed the southeastern parts of T. Narsipur and had the Kaveri as its northern boundary (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 227, 229, 230, 233). This spurt of references to new units in the second phase may be

indicative of a degree of reorganisation as a result of the emergence of new village settlements.

The alignment of these units along the Kaveri and Kabbani rivers is noteworthy. Subbarayalu observed that major rivers only constituted boundaries of nāḍus in the Chola country, while minor streams and distributaries had nāḍus lying athwart them (Subbarayalu 1973, 22). This seems to be the case by and large in southern Karnataka as well. Minor rivers such as the Yagachi did not mark boundaries for nāḍus; settlements of Devalige nāḍu-70, for example, were located on both banks of the river and its tributaries (Rice 1901, 6: Cm 42). Similarly, while Arakere and Kalikatti were situated on the west bank of the Vedavati River in Asandi nāḍu, Asandi itself was located on the east bank (Krishna 1942b, 15: Ak 215). Stein has plausibly suggested that only the waters of the major rivers were reliable enough to preclude joint management of irrigation, while inter-village cooperation was necessary for the proper husbanding of water resources in the case of seasonal streams and rivers. In his opinion, this feature emphasised the agrarian nature of the nāḍu (Stein 1980, 93).

The greater availability of epigraphic evidence for Cholamandalam permitted a fuller mapping of nāḍus and the consequent conclusion that the area and density of the nāḍus varied in inverse proportion to the availability of sources of irrigation. The nāḍus in the deltaic region were smaller in area and had a larger number of villages than those further up the Kaveri River (Subbarayalu 1973, 22). In southern Karnataka, however, a lack of comprehensive evidence makes it impossible to map any nāḍu completely. There are references to only one or two settlements in each nāḍu in most cases, which make it impossible to accurately estimate their area and human density.

The alignment of nāḍus along major rivers and the variation of their area and density in proportion to the availability of irrigation sources led Subbarayalu and Stein to argue that nāḍus were primarily agrarian in origin. This is supported by the fact that the very term nāḍu in both Tamil and Kannada had the generic sense of "a planted, cultivated country" (Kittel 1986, q. v. *Nāḍu*) as opposed to a forest *(kāḍu)*.

In Karnataka, however, particularly in the second phase, nāḍus were assigned a numerical suffix. The meaning and significance of the numerical suffixes have been debated for a long time. B. L. Rice

had suggested that they stood for the revenue yield of the division computed in cash terms (Rice 1917, 237–39). However, some inscriptions clearly indicate that taxes were computed partly in cash and partly in kind (Ramesh 1984, 238–39 no. 64; Gopal et al. 1972, 1: 60 no. 97). The mechanism whereby taxes in kind were converted to cash is left unexplained. Moreover, this assumes a strong cash economy, for which there is no evidence. Although coins and currency are referred to in inscriptions throughout the period under study, and more particularly in the second phase, the few, extant Ganga coins have been assigned to the post-tenth-century period (Chattopadhyaya 1977, 44–48, 118–19).

Another view holds that the suffixes represented the population or perhaps the number of fighting men in the division. However, this would make no sense in the case of smaller divisions of less than a hundred. The most reasonable view is that the numerical suffixes stand for the number of villages included in the unit. This view is corroborated by epigraphic evidence for smaller units. The Begur inscription (Bangalore taluk, Bangalore district) of Ereyanga II Ganga bestows the division of Bempur-12 as a grant in recognition of valour or military service *(kalnāḍ)* to Iruga, the son of Nagattara (Rice 1905, 9: Bn 83). The twelve villages including Bempur that constituted the unit are listed in the inscription, as can be gathered from Appendix I (no. 169). This is further supported by the Bandalike inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 902, which states that Mahāsāmanta Lokateya-arasa was governing 30,102 villages *(bāḍa)* comprising Banavasi-12,000, Palasige-12,000, Manyakheda-6,000, Kolanu-30, Toragare-60 and Lokapura-12 (Settar 1976–77, 3: 145–46).

In the case of larger suffixes, however, there certainly appears to be a fair degree of exaggeration. As D. C. Sircar pointed out, Gangavadi could scarcely have contained more than a fraction of the stated 96,000 villages in the early medieval period (Sircar 1965, 385). Another suggestion with respect to large suffixes is that nāḍus were distinguished by the number 'thousand', and thus Gangavadi comprised 96 nāḍus. This contention is not borne out by the records. Several units, such as Nirggunda nāḍu (Rice 1902, 5: Cn 208), Badagare nāḍu (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ml 122), and Kuvalala nāḍu were assigned a suffix of Three Hundred, while others such as Edettore nāḍu (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 183), Sinda nāḍu, 8,000 (Narasimhacharya 1920, 24) and Punnadu,

6,000 (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 129) had a Thousand. Moreover, Gangavadi itself is, in one record, given a suffix of only 32,000, at a time when the Ganga dominions had shrunk (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Pp 133).

R. S. Sharma, citing evidence from Bihar, suggests that numerical suffixes might have referred to revenue-paying hamlets or households to denote the composition of settlements (Sharma, personal communication). This might hold good in the malnad areas of southern Karnataka, where a dispersed settlement pattern was the norm, and a village or hamlet was usually composed of one large, landed estate populated by the owner's household and those of his tenants (Settar, personal communication). Until further evidence is found, it can only be assumed that these numerical suffixes, which stood for the number of villages in the division, were highly exaggerated. Given that the domains of the feudatory rulers were expressed in these terms, such exaggeration is scarcely surprising. Inflated claims to territory were a very common custom, as has been seen in the case of Banavasi.

While nāḍus appear to have been primarily agrarian units in nature and origin, these divisions were also adopted by the rulers for administrative purposes. As a result, nāḍus were inevitably affected by political factors. Thus, for instance, there are numerous instances of divisions being named after ruling lineages. The earliest core of the Ganga kingdom in the Kolar and Bangalore districts was designated Ganga-6,000 in the eighth century (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 80, Sp 57). When the Nolambas entrenched themselves in that region, it came to be known as Nolambavadi-32,000 (Rice 1905, 10: Sp 59). As mentioned earlier, Gangavadi itself came to be assigned merely a suffix of 32,000 in the late tenth century—a period of travail for the dynasty.

The practice of naming nāḍus/viṣayas after the ruling lineage was not unknown even in the first phase. The fifth-century Keregalur plates (Hassan taluk, Hassan district) (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Hn 10) and the Tagare plates (Belur taluk, Hassan district) of the sixth century (Narasimhacharya 1918, 35–36) refer to the Sendraka viṣaya, which was probably named after the Sendraka lineage, although no chief of Sendraka origin is mentioned in either inscription. However, a seventh-century record from Baligami (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) refers to Pogilli Sendraka Maharaja as the ruler of Nagarakhanda and Jeluguralge

(Rice 1902, 7: Sk 154). It is possible that the Sendrakas were displaced from their original stronghold in the Hassan and Chikmagalur districts by the Gangas and Kadambas and moved further north. There are no references to the Sendraka viṣaya and scarcely any to their lineage after the seventh century.

Nevertheless, nāḍus appear to have had a strong corporate identity, which contributed to their longevity and ensured their survival even when divided among numerous fief-holders. It has been seen that Banavasi-12,000, with its constituent units, retained its identity even as rulers changed or when divided among several feudatories. (In Kolar, on the other hand, nāḍu units ceased by and large to be mentioned in inscriptions when political fragmentation reached its apogee in the ninth and tenth centuries). It is evident that the domains of the local rulers, which was the most significant point of reference for local record keepers, did not coincide with the corporate identity of the nāḍus. Under Chola sovereignty, the old nāḍus find mention after a gap of a century and a half. The continuity of the old viṣayas with the nāḍu nomenclature would indicate, as argued earlier, that viṣayas, like nāḍus, were primarily agrarian units adopted by the newly emergent state for its administrative purposes.

A similar trend can be discerned in northern Karnataka as well, where units such as Belvola viṣaya survived as Belvola-300 for at least four centuries. Thus, the Kendur copper-plates (Khed taluk, Pune district, Maharashtra) of Kirttivarman II Chalukya of AD 750 record the grant of Bepatti village *(grāma)* in the midst of the villages Penbasaru, Kisumangalam, Sullam and Perballi in Belvola viṣaya to a brahmana of Kashyapa lineage *(gōtra)* (Pathak 1907–08, 200ff.). The same unit is also mentioned in the Pattadakal pillar inscription (Badami taluk, Bijapur district) of AD 754 (Fleet 1894–95, 1ff.). In both, numerical suffixes and the nāḍu nomenclature have not been adopted, perhaps because both are Sanskrit epigraphs. By the ninth century, however, the new terminology was in use. The Nilgund inscription (Gadag taluk, Dharwad district) of Amoghavarsha I states that a feudatory, Devanayya, was ruling Belvola-300 within which another unit, Mulgund-12, had emerged (Fleet 1900–1901a, 98–108). The Nilgund inscription is lithic and in the vernacular, which might explain the use of the vernacular terminology. However, the Paithan plates (Paithan taluk, Aurangabad district, Maharashtra)

of Govinda III Rashtrakuta of AD 794, although placed geographically far to the north of Karnataka, show that Sanskrit copper-plates did occasionally incorporate the use of numerical suffixes. They record the grant of Limbaramika grāma in the Sarakaccha-dvadasha grāma group in the Pratishthana sub-division *(bhukti)* of a viṣaya to brahmanas (Kielhorn 1894–95, 103–110). By the eleventh century, numerical suffixes were firmly wedded to geographical divisions in Karnataka as well. The Nilgunda plates (Harapanahalli taluk, Bellary district) of Vikramaditya VI place Nirugunda in Vikkiga-saptati in Kokali-pancashata dēśa and record its grant as a gift of land to brahmanas *(brahmadēya)* in AD 1087 and again in AD 1123 (Barnett 1913–14, 142–55). This reinforces the belief that viṣayas and nāḍus were not fundamentally different in character but merely the Sanskrit and Kannada versions of politico-geographical units in Karnataka. The fact that all three hundred villages included in the Belvola-300 have now been identified (Settar, personal communication) supports the contention that numerical suffixes stood for the number of villages included in the nāḍu. This is also borne out by the Mulgund inscription of AD 902–903, which mentions the Dhavala (Belvola) viṣaya and refers to its three hundred towns *(nagara)* (Fleet 1915–16: 190–94).

In Tamil Nadu, the term nāḍu also denoted the territorial assembly that functioned within the unit, which was constituted perhaps by the representatives of each of the villages within it or by its more influential residents. The members of the Nāḍu *(Nāṭṭār)* figure in Tamil copper-plates as one of the groups to whom royal communications were addressed. The other groups were representatives of brahmana villages (brahmadēyas) and towr (nagara) settlements, and trustees of land gifted to temples *(dēva dāna)*. This would indicate that the Nāṭṭār were chiefly drawı from among the members of the village *(ūr)* assembly of th concerned nāḍu. It was they who received the royal com munications and proclaimed grants after fixing the boundarie of the concerned lands (Subbarayalu 1973, 36). The existence o such bodies might explain the strong corporate identity of th nāḍus as well as their longevity. However, there is not mucl evidence in the region under study of the nāḍu as a corporat body of landholders, as in Tamil Nadu. Of the three reference from this region, two belong definitely to the period of Chol

overlordship over southern Karnataka, at which time many Chola practices and institutions were introduced into Gangavadi. The earliest reference comes from an undated fragmentary inscription, palaeographically assignable to the tenth century, from Tirumakudalu (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 25). This apparently records a grant by the Nānadēśis, whose eulogy *(praśasti)* is incorporated in the inscription, and the Nāḍu. The details of the grant and the donee are now lost. The Kemmasandra inscription (Hosakote taluk, Bangalore district) of the reign of Rajarajadeva Chola dated AD 1001 registers the grant of land *(bhūmi)* at Sattivangala by *Daṇḍanāyaka* Shridharayya, Sinda Gāvuṇḍa, the Nāḷgāvuṇḍa (head of the nadu) and the Nāḍu (Rice 1905, 9: Ht 111). However, the inscription introduces an element of confusion by adding that Marayya and Puniseyamma were the donors. It is possible that the gift was initiated by these individuals but was authorised by the Daṇḍanāyaka, the Nāḷgāvuṇḍa and the Nāḍu. The third and most significant reference comes from the Sulidenahalli inscription (Kolar taluk, Kolar district) of AD 1017–18 (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 26). This records that the Nadu assembly (Nāṭṭār) of Kaivara nāḍu bound themselves to give one goat every Tuesday to the goddess Chamundeshvari of Jayaṅgoṇḍa Śōḷa Caturvedimangalam, the guardian deity of the nāḍu. Another inscription from the same place, and probably of the same year, directs Koyirraman, the collector of taxes *(Iṟai Taṇḍugiṟa)* to recover a fine of five gold coins *(kaḷañju)* for every goat not supplied. Further, the gāvuṇḍa of the ūr or nāḍu was to be fined a hundred kaḷañjus if he failed to supply the goat(s) (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 25). King Rajendra I Chola is designated the guardian of this charity. It is not clear whether the fine for non-compliance was decreed by the Nāṭṭār or by the king, or to whom the revenue from the fine accrued. In sum, although its composition is unclear from the available evidence, the Nāṭṭār appear to have been empowered to make grants and decree contributions for a common purpose. The creation of this body would seem to have begun under Chola influence in southern Karnataka.

Corporate bodies in southern Karnataka appear to have played a more significant role at the level of the individual settlement (ūr) than at that of the nāḍu. There are references to the corporate bodies of the brahmana rent-free villages *(agrahāra)* called the

Mahajānas (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 244, 254; 1975, 4: Pp 117; Rice 1902, 7: Sk 45b; 1905, 9: Bn 40, 9: Ht 9; 1905, 10: Kl 200, 10: Ct 43, 44); to bodies of tenants *(okkaḷ)* (the Eṇṭokkal of Coorg) [Gopal et al. 1972, 1: 59–60 no. 96] and the Ayvattokkal of Mysore [Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 136, 155]); to those of traders (the *Tuviyāl Śrēṣṭhi* group [Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Hn 10], the *Maṇigrāma* [Ramesh 1984, 37–39 no. 11], the *Nanadēśis* [Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 215, Hg 110, Hg 142; 1976, 5: TN 25] and the *Vīra Baṇanju* [Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 59]); and of the gāvuṇḍas (the Pannirvar Gāvuṇḍagaḷu [Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 240; 1975, 4: Ch 141]). The role of such corporate bodies in the early medieval polity will be dealt with further in a subsequent chapter. Stein has pointed out that locality governance in this region was vested not in the corporate body of the Nāṭṭār but with chieftains bearing the titles of gāvuṇḍa, *prabhu* or *pergaḍe* with the nāḍu prefixed to them. These chiefs, in his opinion, enjoyed the perquisites of dues and land (Stein 1980, 110).

Epigraphic evidence indicates that headship was exercised at two levels—that of the ūr and the nāḍu. Thus, there are references to both ūrgāvuṇḍas and nāl̤gāvuṇḍas. Ūrgāvuṇḍas could rise to the position of nāl̤gāvuṇḍas (Rice 1905, 9: Cp 129, 135), and sometimes hold the two positions concurrently (Krishna 1929, 150 no. 78). Kings could confer the position of nāl̤gāvuṇḍa on the successor and dependant of a hero as a reward (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 5; 1984, 8: Ag 105). By and large, however, these positions seem to have become heritable at least by the tenth century (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 219). The functions and responsibilities of the nāl̤gāvuṇḍas will be taken up subsequently; suffice it to say here that they enjoyed perquisites of land and dues as described by Stein.[2]

In contrast to the gāvuṇḍas, the pergaḍes were not generally associated with the chieftaincy of the nāḍu. They appear most often as rulers of villages, holding the right to collect internal taxes and settle disputes *(abhyantara siddhi)*, as will be seen in a

[2] There is a reference in an inscription from the Shimoga district to a nāl̤gāvuṇḍa who held the living *(bālige)* of Balligave along with the headship *(nāl̤gāvuṇḍu)* of Jidduralge-70 (Krishna 1929, 150 no. 78).

subsequent chapter. References to pergaḍes ruling nāḍus are scarce, but of these it would seem that in many instances these pergaḍes also enjoyed a higher rank, holding the additional title of *Mahāmātya* (Shama Sastri 1926, 87–88 no. 100). The sole mention of a chieftan of a nāḍu *(nāḍ pergaḍe)* comes from the Kanatur inscription (Alur taluk, Hassan district) of AD 1025 (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Al 8). Nāḍ Pergaḍe Dasayya of Cholayur is numbered among the witnesses to the coronation *(paṭṭabandha)* ceremony of a Gāvuṇḍa of Kanatur who was bestowed the chaplet *(seṭṭivaṭṭa)* by a chief bearing the title of *Maḷeparaditya* (the sun among the hill chieftains *[maḷepa]*).

Prabhus appear either as administrators or as an informally constituted body of notables, who demarcated boundaries of granted land or acted as witnesses to grants. *Gāmiga*s were either village headmen or substantial landlords who perhaps constituted a corporate group at the nāḍu level, and undertook its defence.

In conclusion, the terms nāḍu and viṣaya appear to be the Kannada and Sanskrit variants of politico-geographical units in southern Karnataka. These units were primarily agrarian in origin but were adopted by the nascent state for its administrative purposes. From the eighth century onwards, they came to be assigned a numerical suffix denoting the number of villages included within them. A noteworthy feature of these units is their longevity—they usually lasted for about three or four centuries at the very least, despite their being politically divided among several lords. This longevity was due to a strong corporate identity among the landholders, although corporate groups at the nāḍu level were not much in evidence in this region before the advent of the Cholas.

Village Layout

The sources for this section of the study are entirely epigraphical.

The copper-plate inscriptions recording grants of villages often give details of boundaries, which indicate that villages were largely bounded by natural features such as rivers, streams, water channels, hills and rocks. Lithic and copper-plate inscriptions recording grants of land provide some information regarding the layouts of the villages, and of fields, tanks, irrigation channels and temples. Details of ownership of land, the type of soil and the crops grown

are also often included. Numerous lithic records register the excavation of new tanks or wells and the grants for their maintenance. There are few references, however, to streets and houses; their details are insufficient to derive a clear picture of the types of habitation or whether houses were grouped according to the occupational and social status of the inhabitants.

BOUNDARIES

The Hiresakuna copper-plates (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of the sixth century are among the earliest to include details of village boundaries. The inscription records the grant of Kadalakalani grāma together with Vasuka field *(kṣētra)*. The grant included lands

> bounded on the south by a banyan tree *(aśvattha)*, a hill *(parvata madhyam)*, the lowest part of the Karvelli field *(kṣētra mūla)*, and a water course *(adaka patha)*; to the west the Penna River and the Pallavakenni village; to the north the water course and the cultivated areas of the villages Kadailkura and Kadakoramula *(mūlakṣētra)*; and in the east by the confluence of the two water courses *(adaka sangama)* (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 33).

The Hallegere copper-plates (Mandya taluk, Mandya district) of Shivamara I Ganga dated AD 713 record the grant of Pallavatataka grāma as a brahmadēya (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Md 35). This village was newly constituted and comprised of Kodugole and Belkere villages to the south of the river Kiline, and Beppampal and Panusepatti to its north. This was done after the construction of a bridge *(sētubandha)* across the river. The boundaries of the newly constituted village were clearly specified:

> On the east the stone heap of the Kirukonninda tank in Kadavakkal on the highway running along the Kiline River; on the south, the eastern side of the Peggoninda tank along the Iggare River; and the river itself; the western boundary is the Velkere tank, proceeding further towards Beppampal and Peralgolli; on the north (the boundaries are) the streamlet Neserupalla, the village Selivenne and the tanks Kiruballiyurkere and Nidubatthakere along with its gulf (Ramesh 1984, 128 no. 31).

The Baradur grant charter (Krishnarajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of Shripurusha Ganga, dated AD 725 registers the

grant of the village Baradur in Tegattur viṣaya to Bana Sharman, a resident of Vatapi (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: Kn 48). The charter includes a brief description of the village boundaries, which appear to be bounded on all sides by natural streams *(paḷḷa)*—to the east the Dutumubur paḷḷa, to the south the Paradagere paḷḷa, to the west the Kamuntegundi paḷḷa and to the north the Gottegere paḷḷa.

The Hullenahalli plates (Mandya taluk Mandya district) of Shripurusha Ganga of c. AD 750 record the grant of Kovalavettu village to three brahmanas after dividing it into three parts (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Md 14). The boundaries of this village were:

> On the east the *padari* tree *[Stereospermum chelonoides]* of the Olagere tank; proceeding thus and joining the tank; proceeding along the big water course *(pervaḷḷa)* towards the west, the huge tamarind tree *(pervuṇuse)*; in the south, the main hillock *(tale moṟaḍe)*, the Bedirkere tank and the pool named Modalemoduvu; in the west the canal of the Velgola tank *(kalum)* and the river *(toṟe)*; in the north, the Kadavigere tank, proceeding thus, the localities [?] named Manjat-tone and Balolbe, the hillock *(moṟaḍi)* named Soral; proceeding thus, the heap called Bannigarla-kuppe, the locality named Balolbe joining the *padari* tree (Ramesh 1984, 240–45 no. 65).

There is an interesting instance of the same village being granted in two different records. The Devanur plates (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of Kambha Rashtrakuta dated AD 808 grant the village Badaneguppe in Edenadu of Punnadu viṣaya to the Shrivijaya monastery or temple *(vasati)* at Talavana-nagara (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 278). The same village is also the object of a grant in the Mercara plates (Mercara taluk, Coorg district) of Avinita Ganga, which are dated AD 466 but are in the characters of the ninth century, and are clearly spurious (Gopal et al. 1972, 1: 1–5 no. 1).[3] While in the first case the grant was entrusted to Vardhamana Guru of the Sirmmalage section *(gurugaṇa)* of the Kondakundanvaya order, in the second the trustee was

[3] The language and contents of the inscription clearly point to a later period than that to which the grant purports to belong. For instance, there is a reference to a Rashtrakuta Akalavarsha (Krishna II [?]), who belonged to the late ninth century, whereas Avinita Ganga, to whom the record refers, needs to be placed in the late fifth century.

Chandanandi Bhatara of the Desiga section *(gaṇa)* of the same order. In both cases the grant was for the Shrivijaya Jaina temple (vasati) of Talavana-nagara. It is possible that the temple came under the control of the Desiga gaṇa after being dominated for some time by the Sirmmalage gurugaṇa, and the spurious grant was produced in order to legitimise this change of guard. Alternatively, the earlier charter may have been lost and a new one concocted to retain hold over the Badaneguppe village.

The boundary details appear to indicate that the Mercara plates are of a later origin than the Devanur plates. The latter describe Badaneguppe's boundaries as:

> To the north the twin tamarind trees *(ponarpuli)*; to the northwest the boulders *(posattigallu)*, to the west, the greater portion of the Kadambagere tank; on the southwest the old *banni* shrub; to the east, the eastern slopes of the Kallivettu including the Murubettu [hills]; on the northeast the *Ficus indica* shrub to the north of Badanidi (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 278, ll. 59–63).

The Mercara plates give the following description of the boundaries of Badaneguppe in Edenadu-70 of Punnadu-6,000.

> On the east the Kenjige stone heap *(moṟaḍi)*, the village Gajasele, the Sattikoradu [?] at the trijunction of Karivalli, Kottagara and Badaneguppe; on the southeast as one proceeds, the Kagani tank; on the south, the spurge thicket, the *balkani* tree, the row of numerous medicinal herbs running westwards; the Kolevandgal at the trijunction of Badaneguppe, Kottagara and Muttagi; proceeding southwestwards, the *kathaka* tree; on the west, the *pelduldil* tree, the banyan tree belonging to Santereti; the stream bed *(toṟevaḷḷa)*; proceeding northwards, the row of medicinal herbs *(bahumūlikāpanti)* the Jambupadi tank, the tamarind tree *(ciñca vṛkṣa)*; the nerggila clump *(gumpu)* at the junction of Badaneguppe, Muttagi, Koleyanur, Mammasur, and Niduvelunge; the village Gajasele on the north, the red rock *(kembaṟe moṟaḍi)* below the Kayga stone heap; proceeding eastwards, the row of medicinal herbs, the banyan tree in the locality called Kadapattigala; on the northeast, the tank at the trijunction of Badaneguppe, Dasanur and Polma, the tamarind tree in the locality [?] called Kodigatti; on the east the boundaries meet on the Kemtaramlu mound (Ramesh 1984, 65 no. 17).

This description seems to indicate that the area around Badaneguppe was settled on a large scale during the ninth century, since there are references to villages, trees and herbs absent in the Devanur copper-plates. Such large-scale settlements would

explain the references mentioned earlier to new nāḍu units in the inscriptions of the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries.

A similar reference to neighbouring villages is found in the Mysore copper-plates (Mysore taluk, Mysore district) of Chagi Permānaḍi, assignable on palaeographic grounds to the eleventh century (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 102) This records the grant of Kaḍekola village as a kalnaḍ. The boundaries of Kadekola are described thus:

> Going in the southern direction of the trijunction of Kadekola, Kharavura and Paidage; going towards the east of the trijunction of Kadekola, Kharavura and Tandeya, going towards the north of the white hillock *(beḷmoṛaḍi)* and the trijunction of Kadekola, Peruvedu and Tandeya; going to the west of Pasarekallupalla (stream); towards the west of the banyan tree *(aladamara)* to the north of Kallodagere (tank) and the trijunction of Kadekola, Peruvedu and Mariyase; going towards the north of the heap of stones *(kalkuppe)* to the east of the stream *(paḷḷa)* upto Nirile; thence towards the north of the junction of Kadekola and Mariyase; going to the west of the southern side of the tank *(keṛe)* turning towards the west of the Kadavipadikattigere (tank) and the trijunction of Kadekola, Mariyase and Pattal; to the south, going towards the south of the stone to the west of the stream Suldilperiyabelungu; going to the south of the trijunction of Kadekola, Pattal and Peydage, to the east of Tandilagadapu [?] going to the tamarind tree *(puṇuse)*; near the washerman's stream *(asagapole)*, Kirubedu [?] and the trijunction of Kadekola, Paidage and Kharavura where the boundary joins the starting point.[4]

The reference to the washerman's stream in the boundary details is significant. It implies that different occupational groups had access to different sources of water in the village. This surmise is further strengthened by the Perjjarangi grant charter (Krishnarajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of Rachamalla I Ganga dated AD 819, which registers the grant of Perjjarangi village, situated in Ededinde-70 in Marugare viṣaya, as a brahmadēya to Nagadeva Bhatta of Bharadvaja kula. The boundaries of Perjjarangi were thus determined:

> The northeastern boundary, the extreme southern end of Gamagudda tank; the eastern boundary, the extreme western end of the goldsmith's

[4] Of the villages mentioned in the Mysore copper-plates, only Kadekola and Mariyase survive today (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 102, ll. 116–22).

> tank *(suvarnakere)*; at some distance comes the eastern corner of the Sigegere tank, then the edge of the washerman's tank *(rajaka taṭāka)*; then the banyan tree; then the canal from the Mahakamra tank *(kulyāsatata)* then the western end of the Vaikonta tank; then the southern end of the Tondigere tank; then at some distance the southern end of Nidugatti; then the Sinnapashana boulder and near it the great banyan tree; then the southern end of Naukkigere; then the southern end of the Tenandakagere; then Piliyal [?]; then the western portion of the Sirikkigarega tank; then the boundary of three villages formed by the *aśvattha* tree; then the southern end of the Nallur tank; then the southern part of the Madavadi tank then the southern part of the Komara tank; then the tamarind tree named Mahamadhu; thus it is bounded (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: Kn 49).

In all the cases studied above, the boundaries comprised of rivers, streams, tanks, hillocks and hills, trees and shrubs. In the Galigekere plates (Krishnarajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of Ranavikramayya Ereyanga I Ganga, there is a reference to a house and street forming the boundary of Kolanelluru village, which was granted to a brahmana, Parapadi Bhatta of Arida gōtra (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: Kn 105). However, just prior to the description of the boundaries, the inscription states that the extent of land granted was twenty *khaṇḍugas* (a land measure). This is confusing, since it is unclear whether the area of Kolanelluru village as a whole was twenty khaṇḍugas or the land granted within the village was to the extent of twenty khaṇḍugas. If the latter alternative holds good, it would mean that the boundary details relate only to a part of the village.[5] The land thus granted was bounded

> to the east by the river *(toṛe)*, to the south by the house *(māḍa)*[6] of the Bhatara and the big lane *(pĕrōṇi)*, the tanks of Tenandakagere and Permugagere; to the north the Kirumami stream *(pervaḷḷa)*, Vederakere, a big thicket *(perolve)* on the bund *(ēri)* of Salattakadu, Pagantevalla, gosanatane [?] and the tank Kondindagere to the south of Pervatte, a thicket *(olve)*; to the west a fence *(vāḷvēli)* is joined with the big gulf

[5] The *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* states that khaṇḍuga was a land measure of 64,000 square yards of dry land and 19,000 square yards of wet land, which would be approximately equivalent to fifteen acres. Twenty khaṇḍugas could therefore well be the area of an entire village (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Khaṇḍuga*).

[6] Māḍa: a large building or storeyed house (Kittel 1986, q. v. *Māḍa*).

(golli) at the beginning of the oozing land *(peḷjoge)*; to the north the boundary is joined by the big gulf *(golli)* to the Kaveri.

Excepting the southern boundary, which was formed by the residence of the *Bhatara* (evidently an individual of some importance, given his title and the mention of his house) and the big street, the other details follow the pattern already witnessed in the earlier grants.

As the records indicate, the villages seem in the majority of the cases to have been bounded by natural features such as rivers, streams, hillocks and hills.[7] In addition, the construction of tanks and channels for irrigation provided additional landmarks in the maidan and semi-malnad regions. Trees, shrubs and thickets, too, were used to demarcate boundaries. In certain areas such as Edenadu-70 or in the plains north of the Kabbani where, as the Mercara and the Mysore copper-plates indicate, the villages appear to be closely clustered, the neighbouring villages were included among the boundary details. There is also an impression that there were no habitations near the outskirts of villages, but the data base is too inadequate for this to be said with any certainty.

FIELD LAYOUTS

Several records, both copper-plate and lithic, specify the detailed location of the granted lands. The Birur copper-plate inscription (Kadur taluk, Chikmagalur district) of Vishnuvarman Kadamba of the fifth century AD is among the earliest to provide some information on the location of granted land; however, it is unclear whether the land thus described belonged to any village. The inscription records the grant of Ankatataka grāma in Sindhuthaya rāṣṭra together with a hundred *nivarttanas* (areas) of land located between (or inclusive of) the Nandapadapatha road and the bridge (sēthubandha) over Karnnesaka River (Rice 1901, 6: Kd 162). It would seem that the hundred nivarttanas were not, at any rate, a part of Ankatataka grāma. The boundaries of the village were not specified.

[7] As described earlier, granite boulder heaps are a common sight in the southern maidan. This would explain the frequent reference to hillocks and stone heaps in the boundary details.

The Hosakote plates (Hosakote taluk, Bangalore district) of Avinita Ganga, which record grants of land to the Jaina temple established by Simhavishnu's mother, provide greater details of field layouts (Ramesh 1984, 48–51 no. 14). The grants included (i) seven *khaṇḍukāvāpas*[8] of land including the wet fields of the Jaina monks [?] *(śramaṇa)* below the great tank *(mahātaṭāka);* (ii) five khaṇḍukāvāpas of fields (kṣētra) and one garden land *(toṭṭa)* for growing sugarcane *(ikṣu niṣpana kṣamam)* in the centre of the village *(madhya bhāge);* (iii) one khaṇḍukāvāpa in the southern part of the village; (iv) twelve khaṇḍukāvāpas of forest land *(āraṇya kṣētra)* to the north of the village.

All these lands were situated at Palliuru village in Korikunda territorial unit *(bhōga)*. The interesting aspect of this grant is the precise detailing of the location of the lands that were granted, with the great tank of Palliuru as a significant landmark. It would seem that the granted fields were evenly spread out over the area of the village. It is also interesting to note that the grants included some land that belonged to the Jaina monks, which could imply that the lands were resumed by the king. The gift of forest land is also noteworthy, being indicative of (i) the expansion of arable land and (ii) the erosion of common rights of pasture in the forest lands (Sharma 1985, 23).

The Mallohalli plates (Bangalore taluk and Bangalore district) of the early sixth century AD record the grant of twelve khaṇḍugas of rice *(vrīhi)* lands below the tank at Meluru as brahmadēya (Ramesh 1984, 56–60 no. 16). The Nandi copper-plates (Chikka-Ballapura taluk, Kolar district) of Madhavavarman Ganga, palaeographically assignable to the eighth century, also grant ten khaṇḍugas of land below the tank at Perpusuru in Morasa nāḍu to Gatti Sharma—of Konninda (Kaundinya [?]) gōtra (Ramesh 1984, 7–9 no. 3). Tanks constructed at the instance of Kundacci, the queen of Paramagula *Pṛthivī Nirggundarāja*, also form the landmarks in the case of some of lands granted to the Lokatilaka temple *(jinabhavana)* on the northern side of Shripura in AD 776. These included: (i) ten khaṇḍugas of land below Dundu tank

[8] Khaṇḍukāvāpa: the area of land required to sow one khaṇḍuka measure of seed grains (Sircar 1966, q. v. *Khaṇḍukāvāpa*).

(samudra); (ii) two khaṇḍugas of paddy fields *(kaḷani)* under the Kamaragattu dam in the plain fields *(bayaluḷ)* of Shripura; (iii) six khaṇḍugas under the Perggere tank; and (iv) twenty khaṇḍugas of cultivable *(bede)* land between the Erepuligere tank and Koyilgotta (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ng 149).

It is thus clear that tanks were important landmarks in villages, and that the location of fields were most often specified in relation to them. Many other instances can be cited in this connection. An inscription from Mavali (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) records the grant of one *mattar*[9] of land for the maintenance of the Goliyakere tank. The granted land was situated to the south of the southern outlet *(kōḍi)* of Muvvelvakere tank (Krishna 1941, 191–92 no. 29). The Tallapalli inscription (Bowringpet taluk, Kolar district), also of the eighth century, records the grant of thirty *koḷagas* (a land measure) (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Koḷa*) of paddy fields under the Tamarakattu sluice *(tūmbu)* of the western tank of Pelpaduvu to Bolva Ganga Gāvuṇḍa as a kalnāḍ (Rice 1905, 10: Bp 13). Similarly, a tenth-century record from Talagunda (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) registers the construction of a tank and a grant for a perpetual lamp *(nandādīpa)* for the deity of the five mattars of garden land below the tank (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 322). An inscription from Otur (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) records the grant of a two-mattar field below the Nosiga pond for a temple constructed by Pergaḍe Nakiyayya, a ruler of Cittarate Otur (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 70). The Kampalapura inscription (Piriyapatna taluk, Mysore district) of the ninth century records the grant of two khaṇḍugas of paddy land *(nelmaṇṇu)* situated below Maltikere tank (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Pp 117). Similarly, a fragmentary inscription from Honnur (Yelandur taluk, Mysore district) registers the grant of five koḷagas of wet land *(bede gaḷde)* in (or below) the tank of Ponnavayya's elder for Ponnavayya, who died in a cattle raid *(tuṟugōl)* (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Yl 14). Thus, locating granted land in relation to tanks was a common practice.

Water channels or canals are also referred to in the epigraphic records. The Kumsi inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district)

[9] Mattar: a land measure similar to the nivarttana, the quantitative value of which varied with location and over time (Sircar 1996, q.v. *Mattar*).

of AD 931 records the grant of one mattar of paddy land *(bhattava gaḻde)* situated between two canals or water conduits *(pāne eraḍu)* leading off the big canal *(piriya pāne)* (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 83). Likewise, the Doddahomma inscription (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of AD 977 refers to the main channel *(bēruṁgālu)* from the lower bund *(kīḻēri)* of Badikere tank; it would seem that the channel itself had been granted in this case (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 294).

Natural streams were also significant landmarks, and often marked village boundaries. Within the village, too, they were used to demarcate fields. In a ninth-century record from Marase (Mysore taluk, Mysore district) land on a mound or hillock *(temare)* situated to the north of the stream, was granted for the deity Bhagavati, who was installed by Bijayitanna at Mariyase (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 186). The land, too, was probably situated at Mariyase, though this is not so specified. An eleventh-century record from Maruru (Hunsur taluk, Mysore district) mentions four khaṇḍugas of wet land in or near the stream (paḷḷa) for a hero, Ipagonda, who died in a cattle raid (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Hs 5). An inscription from Kalkunda (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) records the grant of a piece of land located on a sand bank and bounded by the Kalapavanapali embankment. It seems to have been situated on the banks of a stream, though the epigraph does not specifically state this (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 253).

The above examples are instances of fields located roughly in relation to major landmarks such as tanks, their channels, natural streams, hillocks, etc., while several other inscriptions offer more complete details of field boundaries. The Maruru inscription (Arkalgud taluk, Hassan district) of the ninth century registers the grant of several fields to Akhanda Bhatara as a donation for education *(vidyā dāna)* by Taddayya. The grant consisted of: (i) five khaṇḍugas of enclosed rice lands *(baṭṭavāḻ)* (Kittel 1986: q.v. *Baṭṭa, Vāḻ*) bounded on the east by the large channel *(penbāykāl);* on the south by a mound (temare); on the west by a big mound *(peḍḍevare)* and on the north by the channel *(bāykāl)* of the Naragavalla tank; (ii) three khaṇḍugas and five koḻagas of wet land in the sedimentary soil *(kaḍagōḍina nīrmaṇṇu)* to the east of the Arakere tank, bounded on the east by a channel (bāykal), on the south by a mound (temare), on the west by

a stream and on the north by a big mound in the large field *(perbayalalli peddevaru);* (iii) a garden (toṭṭa) in the sedimentary soil to the north of Kosigagere tank (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Ag 28).

A clear picture thus emerges of land within a village criss-crossed by tank channels and streams, with mounds and hillocks forming additional landmarks to distinguish one field from another. In addition to such features, temples, too, were used as landmarks within the ambit of a village. Thus, the Kumsi grāma inscription of AD 950 registers the gift of some land to the north of the Jaina monastery or temple *(basadi)* at Koppa (Rice 1902, 7: Sh 114). The details of the land, its extent and quality, are, however, not given. Similarly, the Nandigunda inscription (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of AD 1021 merely mentions an embankment *(pali)* situated to the north of the temple (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 201).

There are several references to forts *(kōṭe)* in the villages in Shimoga district, the earliest being on the hero-stones *(vīrgal)* of the eighth and early ninth centuries. The Mavali inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of Govinda III Rashtrakuta records the seizure of Vasavur kōṭe, in the course of which a hero perished (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 1). Another record from the same place and period mentions an assault on Pergumji kōṭe (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 10), while an epigraph from Induvalli (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) records the death of an inhabitant of that village in liberating Vasavur kōṭe from invaders from Golliga nāḍu (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 542). These inscriptions, however, mention only the forts. An instance of cultivated fields located in the vicinity of a fort is found in the Hecce inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 939, in which two forts are referred to in the course of the description of the granted lands. The inscription records grants made for the Shrikantheshvara temple, which included (i) the rent-free land *(taḷavṛtti)* situated to the south of the kōṭe and in the Kalladevabeya field *(polage);* and (ii) wet land *(sejje gadde)* situated in front of the Vamana...pa kōṭe (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 476).

Field locations were also specified in terms of the land owned by other individuals. Thus, the Devarahalli copper-plates (Nagamangala taluk, Mandya district) of Shripurusha Ganga include a grant of garden land (toṭṭa), which was situated to the west of the field of Dundu Gāvuṇḍa (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ng 149).

Similarly, the Melagani inscription (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district) of AD 767 records a grant of one khaṇḍuga and five koḷagas of paddy land above the wet lands of Canna to Maduregile Vella Sharman (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 80). A Tadimalingi inscription (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) of the early eleventh century (which registers the sale of lands at Irugaiyanpalli—a hamlet of a brahmadēya settlement in Marudur) locates one of the plots of land in relation to temple lands and the gifted land of a washerman *(vaṇṇān kuḍaṅgai)*, which formed the eastern and southern boundaries respectively. The western and northern boundaries were constituted by tank channels *(vāyakkāl)* (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 227).

In conclusion, the Shiralakoppa inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 1019 records several grants for the main temple Mūlasthāna Nandikeshvaradeva, and for Caturmukhadeva (whose shrine was bound to *[pratibaddha]* that of Mūlasthāna Nandikeshvaradeva). The details of the location of the granted lands exemplify most of the points discussed above. The donations for the Mūlasthāna Nandikeshvaradeva consisted of: (i) twelve mattars of wet land *(gadde)* in the open space or field *(konabayalu)* situated in the southwestern part of the town *(pura)*; (ii) one mattar field to the south of the southern stream (paḷḷa) bound also by a stream to the west; (iii) one mattar field to the north of the above field. Its boundaries: on the south the southern stream (paḷḷa), to the north Kariyakere tank's northern outlet (kōḍi); to the east the pond *(koḷa)* below the next field; (iv) two mattars of wet land in the open space *(bayal)* beside the land belonging to the deity *(dēvarabhūmi)*; (v) thirty units of flower garden situated to the north of the temple; (vi) two mattars of areca garden *(aḍake toṭṭa)* below the tank *(keṛeya keḷagaṇa)*; and (vii) a flower garden *(pūdoṇṭa)* of fifty units near the northern outlet of the tank referred to above and to the south of the Hallidalakere tank.

The donated lands for Caturmukhadeva were as follows: (i) one mattar land to the east of the tank of the earlier rent-free land holders *(mumnaḍava taḷavṛttiyara keṛe)*; (ii) forty units of flower garden *(pūdoṇṭakam)* around (the shrine of) Kamnavayya Tumanadevar; and (iii) forty units of garden land to the west of Balligola pond and to the north of Badumbe (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 125).

Apart from cultivable fields, there are also references to waste lands and pastures. Their locations within the village *vis-à-vis* other features of the agrarian landscape are not specified. Thus, for instance, the Devarahalli copper-plates (Nagamangala taluk, Mandya district) of Shripurusha Ganga include the grant of one khanduga of village waste land *(ūrpāḷ)* in the village of Paleya Erenallur (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ng 149). Similarly, the Hosur plates (Gauribidanur taluk, Kolar district) of Shripurusha Ganga, dated AD 762–63, register the grant of waste land (ūrpāḷ) to the extent of being sown with thirty *kudaba*s (measures) of seed grains in the villages of Elangudalur, Mariyacigudalur, Paruvi and Shripuram (Rice 1905, 10: Gd 47, ll. 46–48). The earliest definite reference to pastureland *(pasalam)* comes from an eighth-century inscription at Vastare (Chikmagalur taluk, Chikmagalur district) (Rice 1901, 6: Cm 93). The details of the donor and donee can no longer be discerned since the inscription is fragmentary. An inscription from the close of the ninth century at Kalkunda (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) also records the grant of a pasture situated west of Belavakale (a water channel) to (the deity) Narayanasvami (Gopal 1974, 3: Nj 249).

The Kulagana copper-plates (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of Shivamara I Ganga (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 347) refer, in the opinion of Shama Sastri, to the grant of a garden (toṭṭa) for the maintenance of cattle belonging to the deity *(dēvara paśu)* of the Jaina shrine *(chaityālaya)* at Kellipusur (Shama Sastri 1925, 90–92). This interpretation has been accepted by B. R. Gopal et al., the editors of the latest edition of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*. K. V. Ramesh, however, offers an alternative interpretation that is a literal rendering of the inscriptional reference, which is that the cattle were sold to purchase the garden (Ramesh 1984, 139 no. 35). This interpretation seems more acceptable.[10] Another doubtful reference to grazing land occurs in the Saraguru (Heggadedevanakote taluk, Mysore district) of the eighth century, which record the grant of one *aḍuvu* at Mardur to an individual named Nindigunda by the Mahājanas of Kesugola.

[10] The line in question reads, *"dēvara paśu goṭṭondu toṭṭam koṇḍattu"*, to which Ramesh offers the most accurate translation.

Gopal et al. have suggested that aḍuvu probably meant grazing land (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 90). The Kumbaladalahalli hero-stone (Hosakote taluk, Bangalore district) from the close of the ninth century also includes a grant of ten koḷagas of grazing land [?] (aḍuvu) to Anileya's son and Nelmalla Annamma's son-in-law *(aḷiya)* for rescuing cattle *(tuṛuvan ikkisi)* (Rice 1905, 9: Ht 110). From these examples it would seem that aḍuvu means pastureland but there is no concrete evidence to support this contention.

While the sources provide considerable information on the locations of fields, the available details are still insufficient for a complete picture. It can only be concluded from the available data that tanks were the most important landmarks in the rural landscape, and fields were most often located in relation to them. Tank channels and streams were other features used to demarcate one field from another, as were hillocks and mounds. It is unclear whether references to open fields within which lands were granted were similar to the open fields of the agrarian system of medieval Europe (Hilton 1983, 115). There also appears to be a reference to an enclosed field (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 239).[11] Apart from tanks, streams and channels, temples and forts, too, were landmarks in relation to which field locations were pinpointed. References to waste lands, forests and pastures are also available, though their locations *vis-à-vis* cultivated fields are not specified. The grants of such lands to individual beneficiaries would point to the erosion of common rights within the village.

STREET LAYOUTS

References to streets and houses are few and far between in extant records, and in only one of these can the details of a street layout be discerned. The Hosakote inscription (Hosakote taluk, Bangalore district) of Avinita Ganga is one of the earliest epigraphs to mention a house (situated, in this case, in the vicinity of the temple *[dēvāyata sannikṛṣṭam ēkam vēśma]*), which was granted to the Jaina temple constructed by the Pallava queen-mother

[11] This inscription grants *muttere* to a temple. Kittel explains *mutte* as a verb, to enclose, and *ere* as soil of a dark colour, giving a possible derivative meaning of an enclosed piece of dark-soil land. (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Mutte, Ere*).

(Ramesh 1984, 48–51 no. 14, ll. 29–30). The Kulagana plates (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of Shivamara I Ganga of the early eighth century mention a house site *(manettāṇa)* which was among the objects granted to the Jaina shrine (chaityālaya) at Kellipusur. However, the location of this site is not specified (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 347). An eighth-century record from Algodu (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) also refers to a house *(mane)*, but its fragmentary state reveals little else (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 17, 307). A more detailed reference occurs in the Devarahalli copper-plates (Nagamangala taluk, Mandya district), which record the grant of one house *(māḍamane)* and thirty-one house sites (manettāṇa) on Devangeri street in the northern and western corners of Shripura (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ng 149). It is unclear whether the street surrounded a temple from which it derived its name, but the house and house sites were granted to the jinabhavana and its trustee, Vimalachandracharya of the Mūlagaṇa Nandi Saṇgha, Eregittur gaṇa and Pulikal gaccha.

The Galigekere copper-plates (Krishnarajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of Ranavikramayya Ereyanga I Ganga, and its reference to the big street and the house of the Bhatara (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: Kn 105) have been mentioned earlier in the discussion on boundary details. It would seem that this important street and habitation were located on the outskirts of the village, forming its southern boundary.

A tenth-century record from Tayuru (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) mentions Matigur's Baluvalgeri street and its lord or leader *(Oḍeya)* (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Oḍeya*), whose wife's demise by the rite of voluntary death *(sanyasana)* is then recorded (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 211). This intriguing mention might imply that each street or locality had its own lord or leader.

A reference to an eastern street *(mūḍagēri)* comes from the Kalkunda inscription (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) from the close of the tenth century. This records the construction of a temple by an individual belonging to the mūḍagēri, and grants made to it by his sons (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 253). This would suggest that the street was a discrete social unit within a village, and residence there constituted part of an individual's identity. Unfortunately, the sources do not throw any light on whether occupational and caste groups tended to reside in separate localities, which were then named after the group, as in

Tamil Nadu. (Karashima 1984a, 46–47) However, in view of the fact that different occupational groups had access to different water sources, as seen earlier, it is probable that they resided in separate localities also. While the record in consideration does suggest that streets were aligned to the cardinal points, it does not reveal whether there was a central reference point in their alignment.

In addition to grants of land, the Shiralakoppa inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) referred to earlier also records grants of certain streets *(kēri):* (i) streets (kēri) stretching to the east on the southern side of Nandikeshvaradeva temple and two streets (kēri) to the east of these, stretching to the south; and (ii) in the southern part *(teṅkaṇa bhāga)* of the temple of Caturmukhadeva, two streets *(eraḍu kēri)* stretching from the northwest near Nidugola pond to the southeast to the main road *(rājavīdhi)* (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Rājavidhi*) and two streets to the west of the temple stretching from the northwest corner *(bāyabyada kōṇa)* eastwards to the Balligola pond (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 125).

At Shiralakoppa, at any rate, the streets discussed above were clearly aligned around temples, although the direction of alignment in the second case is not very clear. The reference to streets in the southern part of the temple might indicate that the temple complex included streets and lanes within its ambit. Another significant feature mentioned in this record is the main or principal road. As in the case of the main lane referred to in the Galigekere copper-plates, it was possibly the street on which the houses of the chief(s) and other important persons were located.

The limited evidence available makes generalisation impossible. However, it would seem that in at least one case streets were aligned to the cardinal directions around temples; the directional layout is also indicated in two other cases. A street appears, too, to have been a discrete social and perhaps political unit, judging from the reference to the chief of a street. It is not clear whether the individuals residing in a particular street also shared an occupational or caste identity, though this could very likely have been the case.

HAMLETS

There are numerous epigraphic references to hamlets (paḷḷis), the majority of which occur in inscriptions of the Mysore

district. This is primarily due to the abundance of epigraphic material from Mysore. Moreover, the district features both the maidan and the malnad, of which a dispersed settlement pattern is characteristic.

In Jaina canonical works such as the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, paḷḷis connoted a tribal village (Shrimali 1987, 23); this is also the case in the earliest Kannada literary works. Thus, the *Vaḍḍārādhane*, a Jaina work of c. AD 920, mentions a Beda hamlet *(bēḍapaḷḷi)* (Narasimhachar 1986, 206). Bedas were a tribe of forest people who made their living by hunting (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Bēḍa*). Another reference to a Beda hamlet (bēḍapaḷḷi) comes from the *Chāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇam*, which mentions a brahmana joining a hunter *(vyadha)* named Kalaka, who dwelt in the Beda hamlet, during a cattle raid *(tuṟuvam koṇḍalli)* on Vinita-nagara (Kulkarni 1975, 331). In the *Pampa Bhārata* of c. AD 940, the Pandavas are amused at the peculiarities of dress, speech and manners of the rustic inhabitants of small villages *(kālūrgaḷ)* (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Kālūr)* (Anantharangachar 1977, II.97). This is in contrast to the respect shown by them to the Mahājanas of the great, rent-free villages granted to brahmanas *(mahāgrahāra)*. These rustic settlements are also differentiated in the *Pampa Bhārata* from the *bāḍa*, which was a town or village (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Bāḍa*). Though the term paḷḷi is absent here, perhaps these kālūrgal were also tribal villages, and thus the peculiarities of their inhabitants' dress and customs *(naḍeyuḍeya nuḍiya muḍiya gāṁpiṅge)* (Anantharangachar 1977, II.97) excited comment and amusement from the refined and cultured elite. This association of hamlets with tribal settlements is not generally brought out in the epigraphic sources.

The earliest epigraphic reference to a hamlet comes from the Talakad inscription (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) of the first regnal year of Shripurusha Ganga. It registers the grant of a paḷḷi to the Twenty-five of Talakad by Paramakula's son, Arakesi, at the request of Sinda-arasa, Manasija and Devasathi-arasa. The location of this hamlet is not specified (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 207).

Another inscription of Shripurusha Ganga from Basavatti (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) dated AD 791 mentions Armeleyapalli, which was possibly a sheep fold or shepherds' settlement *(kuṟipaṭṭi)* (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Kuṟi*). Alternatively, the

fold or settlement was situated close by. The record registers the grant of two khaṇḍugas of land, the proceeds of taxes on land *(maṇṇadeṟe)* in perpetuity as well as the remission of taxes on shepherds *(kuṟimbadeṟe)* in favour of the headman of the shepherds *(kuṟimba gāvuṇḍa* [?]*)* (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Gāvuṇḍa*) and one Katakaya (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 126). There is also a reference to a cowherds' settlement *(tuṟupaṭṭi)* in the story of Dharmaghosa Bhatara in the *Vaḍḍārādhane;* the cowherds were apparently nomadic, since the two monks in the story reach the settlement in a quest for alms only to find it deserted (Narasimhachar 1986, 147–48). The shepherds in the Basavatti inscription, however, appear to have settled down more or less permanently, as a tax on land was also levied. The process of social differentiation was also underway, for the headman of the shepherds received grants of land and the proceeds of taxation.

The Kottimba grant charter (Sidlaghatta taluk, Kolar district) of Crown Prince *(yuvarāja)* Marasimha Ganga of AD 799 registers the grant of the village Alur together with its hamlet Vaydeut in Kuruvale viṣaya as a brahmadēya. The hamlet in this case appears to be attached to a larger village. The social composition of Vaydeut is not specified in the record (Ramesh 1984, 206–16 no. 50).

There are numerous inscriptions that record grants of hamlets to individuals or temples. Thus, a fragmentary inscription from Kalkunda (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of the ninth century mentions a paḷḷi that was probably the object of a grant to a deity or a brahmana (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 249). The details regarding the name of the hamlet and its location are not specified. Similarly, the Bedakuru inscription (Maddagiri taluk, Tumkur district) of the late ninth century records the gift of land and the ownership *(sāmya)* of a paḷḷi for the maintenance of a tank *(keṟegoḍage)* (Rice 1904, 12: Mi 102). A kalnāḍ grant of (Ka)ppa(ha)lli in Guldapadi is recorded in the Doddahundi inscription (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district). The donee was a loyal warrior *(mane-maga)* of Nitimarga Ereyanga I Ganga, who followed his master in death in AD 870 (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 257). The Biliyuru inscription (Virajpet taluk, Coorg district) of Satyavakya Rachamalla II Ganga of AD 888 registers the grant of twelve hamlets of Bili-ur, the income of which amounted to eighty *gadyāṇa*s (coins) of gold and 800 units of paddy,

to Sarvanandi Bhatara for the maintenance of the Satyavakya Jaina temple *(jinalaya)* at Pennekadanga. The reference to no less than twelve hamlets of a single village highlights the extremely scattered settlement pattern characteristic of the malnad (Gopal et al. 1972, 1: 59–60 no. 96). The Holalavadi inscription (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district), ascribable to the tenth century on palaeographical grounds, registers the grant of ten koḷagas of land in a hamlet (paḷḷiyalu) to a hero who sacrificed himself (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 188). Once again the location of the hamlet is not specified. A tenth-century record from Mangala (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) registers a grant of twelve paḷḷis to the Gāvuṇḍa of Mangala (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 138). Unfortunately, the details of this grant as well as the location of the hamlets are lost.

This difficulty does not arise in the Tondavadi inscription (Gundlupet taluk, Mysore district) of AD 975, which records the death of Ayapayya, who belonged to the paḷḷi of Tondavadi (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Gu 59). Similarly, the Tadimalingi inscriptions (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) of the early eleventh century refer to the hamlets of Mayilangai in Idai nāḍu and of the brahmadēya of Marudur. Palasapali, the hamlet of Mayalangai, is mentioned in the course of details of the land sold to the temple of Iravikula-māṇikka-viṇṇagar-āḷvar. The hamlet was situated to the south of the land sold, and was separated from it by a stone set up to mark the land's boundary (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 230). In the second case, Irugaiyanpalli, the hamlet of the Marudur brahmadēya, was situated below the big tank of Marudur and the granted lands were located in Irugaiyanpalli (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 227). In this case, too, the donee was the temple of Iravikula-māṇikka-viṇṇagar-āḷvār, i.e., the Janardana temple at Tadimalingi. Finally, there is the eleventh-century Chittavalli inscription (Chikmagalur taluk, Chikmagalur district), which records the grant of two kuḷas of rice and ghee *(śoppa* [?]*)* from the paḷḷi to the Jiviteshvara temple at Chittavalli. Once again, the location of the hamlet is not specified (Rice 1901, 6: Cm 95).[12]

The inscriptions, then, do not bring out the association of hamlets with tribal settlements, except in the case of Armeleyapalli,

[12] Rice was of the opinion that the hamlets were eight in number, but this does not appear to be borne out by the text of the inscription.

which is mentioned in the eighth-century Basavatti inscription as a kuṟipaṭṭi or shepherd's settlement. However, the fact that the majority of the inscriptions referring to hamlets record their grants to individuals, temples or as brahmadēyas might indicate a process of acculturation, whereby the tribals were brought in touch with, and subordinated to, the ruling elite. The spread of agrarian settlements, chiefly as a result of tank construction, might be another cause for the emergence of a new hamlet, which was then considered a part of, but subsidiary to, the larger settlement. Such a process is highlighted by B. D. Chattopadhyaya in his study of twelfth-century Kalikatti, wherein a hamlet was established after the construction of two tanks by an oḍeya after whom the hamlet was named (Chattopadhyaya 1990, 99–100).

Irrigation

As seen earlier, tanks were major landmarks in the agrarian landscape. The excavation of new tanks, the repair of old or damaged ones and grants for tank maintenance were a major preoccupation with the ruling elite. This is brought out clearly in the *Pampa Bhārata*, wherein the Pandavas, on their way to Varanavata from Hastinapura, repaired old tanks and made grants for their maintenance *(alligallig oḍeda keṟegaṁ aḷidāyatanakkam dhanamanittu jirṇnoddhāraṁgaḷaṁ māḍisuttum)* (Anantharangachar 1977, II.97 vacana). Such preoccupations are reflected in epigraphic records as well. Thus, the Gattavadi plates (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of Nitimarga Ereyanga II Ganga of AD 904 record the creation of a new village, Shivayyamangala, by a brahmana, Shivaryya, around a large tank (mahātaṭāka) excavated by him and fed by the waters of three small rivulets *(kṣhudra nadītraya)*, Bidirina, Pulivalla and Mavamma, flowing from the great forest *(mahāraṇya)* Mangali. This new village was then granted by Ereyanga II on the orders of Rachamalla II to Shivaryya as brahmadēya (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 402, ll. 61–62). Among the boundary details of the village is a reference to a tank (Galakkere) constructed by the queen *(arasiyu kaṭṭida keṟe)* (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 402, l. 92). If the brahmana Shivaryya is the same donee as in the Kerehalli plates (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of the same monarch,

it would seem that he was a military vassal who maintained a thousand elephants for his sovereign in the Konga nāḍu viṣaya (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 354). Similarly, the Betamangala inscription (Bowringpet taluk, Kolar district) of c. AD 950 records that *Vaidumba Sikhāmaṇi* Vikramaditya Tiruvayya. repaired the great tank *(piriyakeṟe)* of Vijayadityamangala on the orders of his overlord, *Iṟiva Noḷambādhirāja* Nolipayya. To see to its perpetual upkeep he made a grant for tank maintenance *(bittuvaṭṭa)* to the Five Hundred Mahājanas of Kayvara. The right of bittuvaṭṭa in this case included the limits of the big village *(mahāgrāma)*, Vijayadityamangala, as well as the four limits of Kannanur and Manayur (Rice 1905, 10: Bp 4). It is interesting to note that the corporate body of one village was given the rights over another village for the maintenance of a tank in the latter locality. The reason for this is not clear. Another noteworthy feature of the Betamangala inscription is the surrender of the rights of Kannanur and Manayur as well as Vijayadityamangala for the maintenance of the tank. Would this imply that the great tank irrigated the lands of Kannanur and Manayur also? Alternatively, these could have been associated hamlets of Vijayadityamangala.

The role of the members of the upper echelons of the ruling class is also brought to light by the Nerilage inscription (Arsikere taluk, Hassan district) of AD 971–72. This records the grant of bittuvaṭṭa by Chagiyabba-arasi to an individual named Butuga, who was also the recipient of the village Nerilage as a kalnāḍ for his father's feats in the war against the Nolambas (Krishna 1942b, Ak 237). Similarly, Pergaḍe Puliyamma, who is described as being endowed with the qualities of a prime minister *(mahāmātya guṇa sampanna)*, apparently constructed a tank in AD 935 at Talagunda, since this is so recorded in an inscription from that place (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 322). Another pergaḍe, Veleyamma, had a well dug at Otur in AD 938 (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 70). The Bevur inscription (Channapatna taluk, Bangalore district) of AD 985 records a grant for the repair of the tank at Bempur by Pergaḍe Sankayya with the permission of Manalera, evidently the local lord (Settar 1976–77, 2: 126). Likewise, an inscription from Jambehalli (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 972–73 records the construction of two temples and a tank by Sandhivigrahi Kannayya, the minister in charge of war and peace (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 44).

Apart from rulers, feudatories and officials, there are also references to Mahājanas, gāvuṇḍas, traders *(śeṭṭi)* and even artisans who constructed tanks and carried out other irrigation works. There has already been a reference to the Betamangala inscription (Bowringpet taluk, Kolar district), which records a grant of bittuvaṭṭa to the Five Hundred Mahājanas of Kayvara. Similarly, the Karadihalli inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 1011 records the digging of a well by a brahmana of the Gautama gōtra in order to restore a grant of land made to a temple (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 287); the land had suffered due to a lack of water. The donor of the land was probably a Mahājana of the Salipura agrahāra. The Nelluru inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 1013 records that Ammana Gāvuṇḍa's brother-in-law (*bhāva*—sister's husband), Muddayya, had a well dug (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 47). Likewise, the Rampura inscription (Channapatna taluk, Bangalore district) of AD 1004 records that Maca Gāvuṇḍa, the son of Buvi Salbayya, had a tank dug and a sluice constructed for which he received the grant of bittuvaṭṭa (Settar 1976–77, 2: 57).

The Agara inscription (Bangalore taluk, Bangalore district) of the ninth century recounts an instance of a landholder *(ūr-oḍeya)* constructing irrigation works (Rice 1905, 9: Bn 79). Sirimayya, the son of Irugamayya – an Iruvuliyur-Oḍeya of Nagatara lineage – had sluices erected for two tanks *(tūmban ikkisi)* and constructed a third tank to the east of the village. He received a bittuvaṭṭa for all three tanks. A ninth-century inscription from Alattur (Gundlupet taluk, Mysore district) records that Kariya Gangi Śeṭṭi had a tank excavated *(keṟeyagaḷisida)* at Mulcanur (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Gu 36). The Kodakani inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 1015 provides an instance of a pond being constructed by an artisan, Cattoja, the son of Arjuna Kammara (both blacksmiths) (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Kammāṟa, Ōja*), in memory of his father who died rescuing the cattle of his village (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 16).

As the inscriptions cited above clearly reveal, tanks were not the only source of irrigation. Ponds (koḷa), dams *(kaṭṭa)* and wells *(bhāvi)* have also been mentioned in epigraphic records. The preponderance of records referring to wells come from the Shimoga district; it is possible that in the dissected relief of the malnad zone, within which Shimoga district mainly falls,

it was difficult to draw channels from tanks and thus wells were preferred. Alternatively, since most wells were donated by villagers of various strata, it is possible that wells were more within their financial resources than tanks.

Another reference to wells is provided by the Belagi inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district), which records that Kosigara Koteyamma, who ruled Gosahasram *(gōsahasram āldam)*, made a grant of gold to the Mahājanas of Elase and had got a well dug (Krishna 1929, 150 no. 78). The land details given in the Devarahalli copper-plates (Nagamangala taluk, Mandya district) of Shripurusha Ganga refer to a dam (kaṭṭa) (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ng 149). Another inscription from Rampura (Shrirangapatna taluk, Mandya district) from the close of the ninth century records the construction of a dam *(kaṭṭam kaṭṭuvudakke)* at Taleneri and a grant for its maintenance to Shrikesiga who had the dam constructed (Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Sr 85).

Bittuvaṭṭa, or grants for the maintenance of tanks, has been frequently mentioned in the foregoing discussion. The *Indian Epigraphical Glossary (IEG)* explains it as "a portion of the produce derived from the lands irrigated by a tank or wet lands irrigated by a tank, granted to the person who built the tank or repaired it" (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Bittuvaṭṭa*). Although the term is not employed in the Rampura inscription, the grant made for the maintenance of the dam constructed by Shrikesiga affirms that the tax yield of the lands irrigated by the dam was granted to him. The rate of tax paid for each *araṇi* (a local land measure [?]) of land irrigated by the waters of the dam was: one-tenth *(pattondi)* in the first year, one-seventh [?] *(ēḻaḷavi)* in the second year and one-fifth [?] *(aydaḷavi)* thereafter (Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Sr 85). Similarly, the Basavapura inscription (Channarayapatna taluk, Hassan district) of the tenth century records the grant of pattondi for every khaṇḍuga sown by the inhabitants *(ūrāḻiga)* as a gift for the tank of Uttama Gāvuṇḍa. This grant is also termed a bittuvaṭṭa (Rice 1902, 5: Cn 251). Likewise, the Salur inscription of Krishna II Rashtrakuta (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 903 records the construction of a tank *(keṛeyumam kaṭṭisi)* by Kattamaran and the grant of water cess *(nīrvari)* for its maintenance. The cess was levied at the rate of one khaṇḍuga per mattar of cultivable land (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 284). Another ambiguous reference comes from the Somasamudra inscription

(Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of AD 993. This records the construction of a tank by Ammadi Gāvuṇḍa, son of Bijayita Gāvuṇḍa of Kiruvusuvur, by taking one-tenth *(dassiva)* of the share of the land belonging to Nolambeya Gāvuṇḍa as bittuvaṭṭa (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 404).

There are also explicit references to land, as opposed to shares in the produce of land, being granted. The Beluru inscription (Mandya taluk, Mandya district) of AD 997 records, among other things, the excavation of a tank, its bund *(keṛeya māḷakkam . . . kaṭṭeyam kaṭṭisi)*, the construction of a sluice (tūmban ikkisi) and the grant of one koḷaga of land as bittuvaṭṭa *(keṛege koḷaga maṇṇu bittuvaṭṭamumam biṭṭar)* (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Md 67). An inscription from Hale Budanur (Mandya taluk, Mandya district) records the construction of a tank by Sovirashi Bhattaraka and the grant of several koḷagas of land by the gāvuṇḍas of Budanur as bittuvaṭṭa (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Md 54). Likewise, an inscription from Karinele (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 1029 records the grant of one ma(ttar) for the tank of Karinele (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 81). A fragmentary tenth-century record from Belaturu (Heggadedevanakote taluk, Mysore district) appears to register the grant of ten khaṇḍugas of land for a tank as bittuva(ṭṭa). The tank was probably constructed by Butuga Kongani (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 107). The Betamangala inscription, mentioned earlier in this section, records the grant of Vijayadityamangala as well as Kannanur and Manayur as bittuvaṭṭa (Rice 1905, 10: Bp 4).

A record from Bilugunda (Nagamangala taluk, Mandya district) from the close of the ninth century registers the grant of wet lands (gadde) as well as land donated to temples *(dēvabhōga)* as bittuvaṭṭa for the tank of Kiriya Belgunda (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ng 117). The reference to dēvabhōga lands might imply that a share of the produce, and not the land *per se*, was granted. Another ambiguous reference comes from a tenth-century inscription from Karya (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district), which registers the grant of bittuvaṭṭa for two tanks constructed by Nagavarma. A grant of four khaṇḍugas as a gift *(koḍagi)* is also recorded (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 282), though it is not clear whether this gift was the substance of the bittuvaṭṭa. Such ambiguity does not

arise in the case of the Bedakuru inscription (Maddagiri taluk, Tumkur district) of the late ninth century, which clearly records the grant of a paḷḷi as gift for tank maintenance (kere̤gode̤age) (Rice 1904, 12: Mi 102).

In summation, it can be said that grants for the maintenance of tanks included both land and a share of the produce of the land irrigated by the tank. The donees were those who had constructed the tanks—indeed, the tanks were apparently owned by them, as is indicated by the Mavali inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of the eighth century, which refers to the tank of Korakoda Konninda in the course of the description of the battle of Vasavur kōte (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 1).

Despite numerous references to tanks, the inscriptions from southern Karnataka are silent on the technical aspects of their construction. In contrast, Pandyan inscriptions of the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries mention both the materials and techniques used in tank development. By the ninth century, granite was beginning to replace mud and laterite in the construction of bunds, sluices, wells and troughs in the Pandyan territory. Major improvements in technique, such as substituting rubble with chiselled blocks of stone, and the use of a string-line to set the stones precisely, are also recorded in their inscriptions (Gurukkal 1986, 159). It is possible that similar developments in technology took place in southern Karnataka as well, since sluices made of stone are evident in tanks constructed from the ninth century onwards (Rice 1905, 9: Bn 79; Settar 1976–77, 2: 124, 126).

Tank construction was an activity undertaken by the ruling elite of every level—from kings, queens and feudatories to the local landed elite such as the gāvuṇḍas and Mahājanas. There are even some references to the construction of irrigation works by artisans. The fact that tank construction was a major factor in agrarian expansion was clearly recognised. Apart from the actual construction of the tanks, the rulers frequently made grants of the produce of the land, and often of the land itself, for the maintenance of tanks to those individuals who constructed them. A graduated increase in taxation on newly irrigated lands seems to denote a desire on the part of the rulers to convert dry lands to higher-yielding wet lands.

Soils

Some idea of the different kinds of soils in granted lands can be gleaned from the records. The earliest reference comes from the Narasimharajapura plates (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district [?]) of Shivamara I Ganga, which record the grant of black-soil land *(karimāniya)*[13] to the chaityālaya of Tolla by Vitta-arasa of Kadamba lineage, who held the chiefdom *(eṟettana)* of Sinda nāḍu 8,000 and was ruling Tagare-70. The location of the black-soil land and the extent of the granted land have not been specified (Ramesh 1984, 274–75 no. 85).

A tenth-century inscription from Nagarale (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) records the grant of enclosed black soil *(mutteṟe)* to a temple at Nagarale (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 239). The Doddahomma inscription of Satyavakya Rachamalla IV Ganga of AD 977 records several grants for a temple dedicated to Bhalari, Mahadeva, Bhagavati and other deities situated at Piriyaholma. The donors were Ayyapa Gāvuṇḍa and the members of a corporate body known as the Twelve *(pannirvaru)* of Piriyaholma. Included was a grant of a red-soil field *(kebbāyum)*; it is unclear whether this was the same field as the one situated to the northeast of the Cikkeshvara temple (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 294).

A tenth-century inscription from Bagali (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) records the grant of four measures of red soil *(kebbeya maṇṇu)* at Baliyur and the dark-red soil *(eṟedu eṟeya maṇṇu)* at Sindakala for a temple at Balgaliyur (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 114). It is interesting to note that these red-soil fields are specifically distinguished from the wet paddy fields *(gaḻde nīrmaṇṇum)* mentioned elsewhere in the record. Could this imply that red-soil land was preferred for dry cultivation?

The study of the physical geography of this region had made mention of the presence of mixed black and red soils in the southern parts of the southern maidan. All the references, save the one in the Narasimharajapura plates, are assignable to the area south of the Kabbani in the Nanjanagud and Chamrajanagar taluks, which fall in this zone of mixed soils.

[13] Ramesh interprets karimāniya as standing for *karimaṇ*, black soil. The word could also be related to *māniya*, meaning estate. The inscription is of the ninth century.

Land Categories and Crops

Broadly speaking, the sources refer to three categories of land: wet, dry and garden. The majority of the records, to the extent to which they specify the category of the granted lands, mention wet and garden lands. There are also numerous references to the types of crops grown. Here again, references to paddy outnumber the rest.

There are only two certain references to dry lands. These come from the Tadimalingi inscriptions (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) of the early eleventh century. The first record of the reign of Rajaraja I Chola registers the sale of dry *(puṇśey)* and wet *(naṇśey)* lands, included within specified boundaries in the village of Mayilangai, to the deity Iravikula-māṇikka-viṇṇagar-āḷvār (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 230). The second record of roughly the same period registers the sale of one and a half *velis* (a land measure) of dry lands (puṇśey) in Irugaiyanpalli, of the brahmadēya settlement of Marudur, to the same deity for temple services (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 227).

The implicit distinction made in the Bagali inscription (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) between a red-soil field and wet land might point to the fact that the former was dry land (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 114). It is, however, difficult to argue that the absence of a clear specification of land categories would imply that the land in question was a dry field.

There are several references to cultivable lands in the records. The Salur inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) of the ninth century records the grant of one mattar of cultivable land (bede mattar) by Shri Mara, the son of Pubba Gāmiga of Tenkavalli and Malengi Gāmigitti (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 283). Similarly, the Kumsi inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of the early tenth century records the grant of cultivable land (bede mattar) by Kesigarajayamalla Gosasi (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 91). However, an inscription from Kalkuni (Malavalli taluk, Mandya district) from the close of the tenth century mentions cultivable wet land (bede gaḻde) (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ml 147). It is possible, but not certain, that the first two instances of grants of cultivable land related to dry lands.

The Narasimharajapura plates (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district [?]) of Shivamara II Ganga register the grant of, among

other things, six khaṇḍugas of cultivable land *(bede maṇṇum)* under the Devigere tank by Vidyasakti-arasa to the chaityālaya of Mulivalli (Ramesh 1984, 276–77 no. 86). The location of the land below the tank *(dēvigeṛeya keḷage āṛugaṇḍugam vedemaṇṇum)* strongly favours the possibility that it was wet rather than dry land. This assumption is supported by the Honnur inscription (Yelandur taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century, which records the grant of five koḷagas of cultivable wet land (bede gaḷde) below the tank of Ponnavayya's elder to a cattle raider (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Yl 14).

Gaḷde or gadde was the term most often used for wet land. F. Kittel explains it as a field, especially a paddy field (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Gadde*). The inscriptions reveal that wet lands were used chiefly for the cultivation of paddy. The Hiribidanur inscription (Gauribidanur taluk, Kolar district) of c. AD 880 records the grant of ten *(padi* [?]*)* koḷagas of wet land (gaḷde) as brahmadēya (Rice 1905, 10: Gd 5). Similarly, the Kumsi inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 931 records the grant of one mattar of wet land for paddy cultivation, which was situated between two canals *(pāna bhattava eḍavari gaḷdagim)* leading off a major water conduit *(piriya pāneyoḷ)* (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 83). The Kundur inscription (Hassan taluk, Hassan district) from the close of the tenth century records several grants of cash, which were then invested in specified units of paddy or paddy lands *(akki gaḷdege)* (Rice 1902, 5: Hn 38).

However, rice was not the only crop grown in wet lands, as the Hecce inscription (Sorab taluk Shimoga district) of AD 939 reveals. This records the grant of wet land described as sejje gaḷde (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 476). Sejje is a tall, stout grass cultivated for its grain (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Sejje*).

The term kaḷani, which is synomymous with gaḷde (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Kaḷani*), has been used in the Kulagana copper-plates (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of Shivamara I Ganga; they record the grant of two kaḷanis *(kaḷanium eraḍu)* for the chaityālaya at Kellipusur (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 347). Ramesh translates this as two portions of a paddy field (Ramesh 1984, 138 no. 35). Inscriptions from Kolar use the term kaḷani rather than gaḷde to denote paddy lands. Thus, the Hulikunda inscription (Bowringpet taluk, Kolar district) of the mid eighth century records the grant of four koḷagas of paddy land (kaḷani) (Rice

1905, 10: Bp 48). The Nekkundi inscription (Chintamani taluk, Kolar district) from the end of the ninth century records a grant of five koḷagas of kaḷani for a hero who died in a cattle raid (Rice 1905, 10: Ct 36).

The terms *nīr maṇṇu* or *nīr pāṇya* have also been used in the epigraphic records to denote wet lands. Thus, a tenth-century inscription from Chikmagalur records the grant of two hundred units of wet land (nīr pāṇya) to Permāḍi Gāvuṇḍa of Kiriyamuguli (Rice 1901, 6: Cm 3). Likewise, an inscription from Maddur (Yelandur taluk, Mysore district) of AD 982 registers the grant of ten khaṇḍugas of wet land (nīr maṇṇu) in Origala by the one thousand brahmanas of Maldur for a temple constructed by Pollayya (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Yl 40). The Kempanapura inscription (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of AD 991 records a grant by Poleyya of Kellur of two khaṇḍugas of wet land (nīr maṇṇu) at Kiri Herur; and ten khaṇḍugas of wet land (nīr maṇṇu) at Nalligunda, together with a garden (toṭṭa) for the repair of a temple and for feeding ascetics (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 145).

There has been an earlier reference to the Maruru inscription (Arkalgud taluk, Hassan district) in the discussion on field layouts. This record registers the grant of three khaṇḍugas and five koḷagas of wet land in the sedimentary soil (kaḍagōḍina nīrmaṇṇu) to the east of Arakere tank (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Ag 28). Another reference to sedimentary soil comes from the Mudlupalya inscription (Magadi taluk, Bangalore district) of AD 968, which registers the grant of one khaṇḍuga in the big wet land *(peggaḷde)* in the sedimentary soil to the east of the temple tank *(dēvara keṟeya mūḍaṇṇa kaḍegōḍinali)* (Rice 1905, 9: Ma 75).

A tenth-century inscription from Basavanahalli (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) records the gift of two khaṇḍugas of wet land (nīr maṇṇu) and two of *maḍuvina maṇṇu* (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 320). Ramesh translates the latter as land by the side of a tank *(maḍu)* (Ramesh 1984, 322 no. 104).[14] It is possible that maḍuvina maṇṇu is similar to *kaḍagōḍu*, i.e., the reference

[14] However, Kittel explains maḍu as a deep place in a pool or river (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Maḍu*). Could this imply that maḍuvina maṇṇu is land in a dried up tank-bed?

here is to the sedimentary soil by the side of tanks; if so, such soil could have been used for paddy cultivation. This soil could also have been used for coconut or areca plantations if its area was insufficient for the cultivation of paddy.

Another special category of land in the epigraphic records is *makki*, to which there are several references. Kittel explains makki as "rice land above the level of the valley, which is to be watered and produces a crop of luxuriant growth" (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Makki*). The sole inscriptional reference to makki comes from Otur (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district). This records the grants of two mattars below Nosiga pond and two mattars in makki for the temple *(dēgula)* constructed by Pergaḍe Nakiyayya. Other grants in the same epigraph consisted of a one-mattar field in a rock-strewn valley *(kaluvina makki)* and some land in a stony valley *(areya makki)* (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Are* [4]) for the deity Keshavaditya, set up by Poleyamma's wife, Gombabbe (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 70).

Several inscriptions mention paddy lands *(bhattada maṇṇu)*. The eighth-century Bechirakh Marenahalli inscription (Hosakote taluk, Bangalore district) records the grant of, among other things, thirty koḷagas of paddy land *(bhatta)* to Shripurusha Naiga (Rice 1905, 9: Ht 86). Similarly, the Elkuru inscription (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of the ninth century registers the grant of one koḷaga of paddy land *(maṇṇu bhattamum)* for an individual who excavated a tank (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 87). Another ninth-century record from Madalavadi (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) records a grant of a hundred units of paddy lands (bhattada maṇṇu) for Velemalalpacari (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 304). The Kampalapura inscription (Piriyapatna taluk, Mysore district) registers a grant of two khaṇḍugas of paddy lands *(nelmaṇṇu)* (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Nel*) below Maltikere (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Pp 117). Likewise, the Malali inscription (Heggadedevanakote taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century records the grant of two hundred units of paddy lands (bhattada maṇṇu) for a hero who distinguished himself in battle (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 110). The Ereyur inscription (Gundlupet taluk, Mysore district), also of the tenth century, registers a grant of two hundred [?] *(ilmūru)* units of paddy lands at Sirivantagala (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Gu 171). The Nagarale inscription (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) records a grant of ten koḷagas

of paddy (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 241). It is unclear whether this was a grant of land or of paddy in kind.

An inscription from Devarahalli (Gundlupet taluk, Mysore district) of the eighth century records the grant of a field (poḷa) wherein paddy *(nellu)* and *paṇḍi* [?] could be grown (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Gu 207). The fact that paddy was grown in the field in question would indicate that it was wet land.

Apart from references to paddy lands, there are numerous inscriptions that record grants of husked and unhusked rice in kind. The Magudilu inscription of Shivamara I Ganga (Heggadedevanakote taluk, Mysore district) of the eighth century (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 156) and the Mudahalli inscriptions (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 192–93) record the grant of a *sollage* (a measure of capacity) of husked and unhusked rice *(nellakki)*. All these grants were for the deity of Vedirur. A highly damaged inscription from Varuna (Mysore taluk, Mysore district) records a grant of a similar kind, although in this case the details of the donor and donee are missing (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 192). The Nelamane inscription (Shrirangapatna taluk, Mandya district) of the late ninth century records the grant of a sollage of white rice *(beḷiyakki)* (Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Sr 94). Here, too, the details of the donee and donor are missing. The Sige inscription (Hassan taluk, Hassan district) from the close of the ninth century records the grant of a *paḍi* (a measure of capacity equal to half a seer) (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Paḍi*) of rice *(akki)*, probably for a deceased hero (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Hn 62).

In many cases, grants of paddy or rice in kind were made in addition to grants of land. Such is the case with the Doddahomma inscription (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of AD 977. Apart from grants of land, ten koḷagas of paddy were also granted (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 294). Similarly, the Bagali inscription (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) referred to earlier grants of some rice for a festival *(parbadakki)* in addition to wet lands and red-soil fields (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 114, l. 16). The Chittavalli inscription (Chikmagalur taluk, Chikmagalur district) of c. AD 1025 registers the grant of two koḷagas of paddy (bhatta) in addition to two villages and the income from the tolls *(suṅka)* of Uppavalli for a temple (Rice 1901, 6: Cm 95).

From the large number of references to wet lands, paddy lands and paddy generally as well as to records for the construction of new tanks, it would seem that wet-land cultivation of paddy was the mainstay of the economy. Certainly wet lands were the preferred choice for grants to temples and brahmanas as well as to secular donees and in secular transactions. This is indicated by the Kundur inscription (Hassan taluk, Hassan district) from the close of the tenth century, which records several gifts of cash that were then invested in specified units of uncooked paddy *(bēyada bhatta)* and in rice fields *(akki gaḷde)* (Rice 1902, 5: Hn 38). A similar instance is provided by the Uppavalli inscription (Chikmagalur taluk, Chikmagalur district) of AD 959, which records the payment of five hundred units of paddy *(aynūru bhattamam)* by Pattanda of Ammale to Haviga of Uppavalli (Rice 1901, 6: Cm 42).

Crops other than paddy are scarcely mentioned in the inscriptions. An early reference to millet *(śyāmaka)* (Monier-Williams 1988, q.v. *Śyāmaka*) comes from the Melekote plates (Tumkur taluk, Tumkur district) of Madhavavarman II Ganga (Talakad branch). They record the grant of: (i) five khaṇḍukāvāpas of land to the west of the clothiers' field and northwest of their millet (śyāmaka) field; (ii) eighteen khaṇḍukāvāpas of land yielding crops of millet (śyāmaka) grain; and (iii) twelve khaṇḍukāvāpas of land yielding millet (śyāmaka) grain to the north of the highway (Ramesh 1984, 37–39 no. 11).

Another reference to millet is contained in an interesting record of the ninth century from Gattavadi (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district), which, in the opinion of Gopal et al., registers the grant of a fallow millet field *(paravariya jōḷada key)* after its conversion to a fertile paddy field *(kambaḷada eḍa keysi)* (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 313). That it was a millet field is certain; its conversion, however, is not beyond doubt. The record seems to indicate, rather, the employment of hired labour on the field in question,[15] and does not specify the category of land.

The Hosakote plates of Avinita Ganga (Hosakote taluk, Bangalore district) from the beginning of the sixth century, which

[15] Kittel explains jōḷa as a generic name for several species of millet, while *kambaḷa* meant daily hire or wages (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Kambaḷa, Jōḷa*).

record grants to the Jaina temple constructed by the the Pallava queen-mother, include a reference to garden land for growing sugarcane *(ikṣu niṣpādana kṣamam toṭṭa kṣētra)* (Ramesh 1984, 48–51 no. 14). The Mamballi copper-plates (Yelandur taluk, Mysore district), too, mention sugarcane *(ikṣu)* as one of the crops grown in Pumrastra (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Yl 167). The other crops grown in that unit are also specified: rice (vrīhi), wheat *(gōdhūma)*, barley *(yava)*, pulses *(rāḍaka)*, etc. Fruits such as plantains *(kadaḷi)*, areca nut *(kramuka)* and coconut *(nāḷikēra)* were also cultivated.

A plantain garden is mentioned in the Medutambihalli inscription (Kolar taluk, Kolar district) of the ninth century. Seven *tūmbus* (a land measure) of plantain garden *(bāḷe toṭṭa)* were granted to the oḍeyas of Nallattur as a brahmadēya with all exemptions *(sarva bādhā parihāra)* (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 231).

A coconut grove gifted by Ayyappa Nommayya is mentioned among other grants for the monastery or temple (basadi) constructed by Shrivarmayya. Another garden on the eastern bank of the river is also mentioned in the Narasapur plates (Kolar taluk, Kolar district) of AD 902 as the object of a grant for the basadi at Kannamangala, but the fruits grown there are not specified in this case (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 90).

Lithic records do not, by and large, specify what was grown in garden lands. The Shiralakoppa inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district), which has been cited earlier, is one of the few exceptions. This records grants of: (i) two mattars of areca garden (aḍake toṭṭa); (ii) thirty units of flower garden (pūdoṇṭa) to the north of the temple; (iii) fifty units of a flower garden; (iv) forty units of a flower garden; and (v) forty units of garden land (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 125).

An inscription from Vijayapura (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) of the sixth regnal year (AD 1017–18) of Rajendra I Chola refers to a flower garden *(vara vana)* raised by Bediyanna, probably at Kirupel-nagara (modern Vijayapura) (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 142).

The other early references to garden lands come from the Kulagana copper-plates (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of Shivamara I Ganga. These record the grants of: (i) a garden land (toṭṭa) given by the Pallava crown prince (pallavēlarasa); (ii) a garden land (toṭṭa) given by Kannamman of Ganje nadu;

(iii) a garden land (toṭṭa) from Maragottera; and (iv) a garden land (toṭṭa) purchased after selling the cattle belonging to the deity (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 347).

However, there is no information as to whether these were flower or fruit gardens.

An eighth-century reference to garden lands comes from the Homma inscription (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of Shripurusha Ganga, which records the sale and grant of the northern and southern portions *(khaṇḍam)* of the garden of merchant(s) *(vāṇiga toṭṭa)* to the Vinitishvara temple (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 147). There is no way of knowing whether the land had originally been owned by an individual or by a corporate group of merchants; nor does the inscription specify what was grown in this garden, or its price.

The tenth-century Ganiganur inscription (Yelandur taluk, Mysore district) records the grant by Elabbe of a piece of garden land *(toṭṭa khaṇḍa)*, to the east of the *ārā toṭṭa*, to the deity Aditya Bhatara (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Yl 174). Ārā toṭṭa was probably a garden of ārā trees *(Barringtonia acutangala gaertn)* (Kittel 1986, q.v. Ārā [2]).

There are two possible references to flower gardens in two inscriptions from the early eleventh century. The Nitre inscription (Gundlupet taluk, Mysore district) of AD1009 registers the grant of five koḷagas of *puṁbola* for the deity Adityadeva. Puṁbola has been interpreted as a flower garden by Gopal et al. (1974, 3: Gu 62). Similarly, the Belaturu inscription (Heggadedevanakote taluk, Mysore district) of AD 1020 records the grant of five koḷagas of flower gardens (puṁbola) for a renovated Shiva temple (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 58).

In sum, dry lands find very little mention in the inscriptions. The absence of categorisation of the granted lands cannot automatically lead to the assumption that they were dry lands. The majority of the references in the records are to wet lands and, for the most part, paddy lands. Millets, sejje and sugarcane are among the crops mentioned; plantains, areca and coconut plantations are mentioned among the fruits grown. Flower gardens were also often granted, especially to temples. The main reason for the numerous references to rice and wet lands is that such lands were preferred for grants. It cannot be concluded on the basis of epigraphic evidence alone that millets were scarcely

cultivated; it is more than likely that millets formed the poor man's staple diet in this region. Paddy was, however, the preferred crop. The encouragement given to the construction of tanks and the growth in irrigation facilities probably contributed to the spread of paddy cultivation.

Pastoralism and Mixed Farming

The three geographical regions included in the area under study, i.e., the malnad, the semi-malnad and the southern maidan, are marked in the present day by high densities of cattle population owing to the easy availability of pasturage. This seems to have been the case for the early medieval period as well. Epigraphic references to cattle raids, cowherds and shepherds point to the widespread prevalence of a pastoral economy in this region. Evidence for mixed farming is also available, as will be seen below.

COWHERDS AND SHEPHERDS

References to cowherds are chiefly available from the Shimoga district. Several of these inscriptions refer to *gōsahasra* (a thousand cows) and its vernacular derivatives, an owner [?] *(gōsāsa)* and donor [?] *(gōsāsi)* of such a herd. The Belagi inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 964 mentions Koteyamma, who was said to be ruling Gosahasram (Krishna 1929, 150 no. 78). Another inscription from the same place refers once again to Koteyamma as a gōsāsi. His elder sister, Akkanabbe, is described as a cowherdess *(gōyiti)* (Krishna 1929, 152 no. 79). This would indicate that the terms gōsahasra or gōsāsi indicated a person owning a large herd numbering a thousand cows, though the number is probably exaggerated. The Sasarvalli inscriptions (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 1001–1002 mention Aychayya Gāvuṇḍa, Gōsāsa of Sasarvalli, who had a temple constructed *(jari dēgula māḍisidam)* (Krishna 1942, 190–92 no. 61). The editor explains gōsāsa as one who either owns a thousand cows, has gifted a thousand cows or fought in the defence of cattle (Krishna 1942, 192). M. M. Kalaburgi has suggested that gōsāsa probably meant one who had the ability to gift (a thousand) cows, on analogy with the inscriptional term *ghaḷisāsa*, which connoted an individual who pursued knowledge

in a *ghaṭika* (an educational institution run by holy or learned brahmanas) (Kalaburgi 1988, 2: 11–20).

The gifting of a thousand cows is registered in several records. An eighth-century inscription from Mavali (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) records the grant of a thousand cows *(gosahasram pradarum)* by Aridara Poleyamma of Maileya grāma together with eight cultivable lands (bede mattar) (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 9). The Kumsi inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 910 records a similar grant to the Thousand of Kumbise by Kesiga Rajayamalla, their servant or tenant *(magatin)* (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Maga*) (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 91).

Other references to gōsāsa/gōsāsi/gōsahasra occur in two records, from the Otur inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) dated AD 940 (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 75, 77) and from the Kirugunise inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 959 (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 501). The purport of these records is not altogether clear: one of the Otur inscriptions seems to record the death of a gōsāsi in battle (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 77), and the Kirugunise inscription probably registers the grant of a thousand cows. Finally, the Gamagrama inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 1021 records the death of Lokayya, in whose honour a thousand cows and five units of land were granted *(parōkṣada gōsāsi bhūmi)* (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 9, l. 11).

Thus, it appears that the terms gōsāsa/gōsāsi indicate in some cases the owner of a large herd and in others the actual gift of a thousand cows. The number one thousand is possibly exaggerated, but it points to the existence of large herds of cattle in this area. Apart from the district of Shimoga, gōsāsa/gōsahasra donation *(dāna)* records appear in the Bijapur, Belgaum, Dharwad and Karwar districts—areas that came under the ancient divisions of Belvola-300, Puligere-300 and Banavasi-12,000. It is noteworthy in all these areas that the time-span for these records ranges from the eighth to the eleventh centuries—the second phase of this study (Kalaburgi 1988, 2: 18). It is not clear why the practice was geographically and temporally so limited. One of the factors may have been the wide prevalence of pastoralism in these areas; the spread of agriculture and irrigation facilities may subsequently have made land grants more fashionable than gifts of large herds of cattle. The use of the term gōsāsa/gōsāsi as an adjective might also point to a hierarchy based on the possession of cattle.

In a context in which pastoralism was of equal importance as agriculture, both land and heads of cattle would count in the determination of wealth and status.

The Hecce inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 939 records several grants by *Kaṭakada-gōva* Chattayyadeva of Banavasi in the presence of *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Machiya-arasa of Matura descent *(vaṁśa)*, who was ruling Banavasi at the time, to the Shrikantheshvara temple (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 476). Chattayyadeva appears to have been an officer in charge of the herds of a camp or capital *(kaṭaka)* (Sircar 1966: q.v. *Kaṭaka*). Since he is specifically stated to belong to Banavasi, the chief city of Banavasi-12,000, the term kaṭaka must perhaps be taken to mean capital. However, a twelfth-century hero-stone uses kaṭakada-gōva to denote protector of a camp (Krishna 1941, 151). Gōva is the *tadbhava* form of *gōpa*, a cowherd (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Gōva*, *Gōpa*). The *Pampa Bhārata* refers to it in Shishupala's dismissal of Krishna as a mere cowherd, unworthy of first worship in a conclave of kings *(paccane pasiya gōvanai)* (Anantharangachar 1977, VI.52). The *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* suggests two other functions of a gōpa—as a watchman, and as an official in charge of the royal cattle (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Gōpa*). Both meanings are borne out by literary works. One of the stories of the *Vaḍḍārādhane* mentions Virapurna, who is said to be the watchman of the royal cattle *(arasara gōmaṇḍalam)* (Narasimhachar 1986, 66). Similarly, the *Pampa Bhārata* refers to Sahadeva's appointment as a *gōmaṇḍalādhyakṣa* by Virata when he appeared in the guise of a cowherd *(gōpāla)* (Anantharangachar 1977, VIII.54 vacana).

A hero-stone from Balla (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district) of c. AD 780 records the death of a cowherd *(tuṟuvaḷḷa)*, Uvalan, together with an unnamed cowherdess *(tuṟuvaḷti)* (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Tuṟuvaḷḷa*, *Tuṟuvaḷti*) in the defence of the cattle of Balla, which were being carried off by Karapuran, the son of Ranamukha Dutta (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 92). The cowherd (or his dependents) received five koḷagas of fields yielding one rice crop *(kaḷamum)* (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Kaḷama*). Uvalan appears to have been the cowherd of Balla village and of far lower status than Chattayyadeva, who seems to have been an officer of high rank. An inscription from Hale Bogadi (Mysore taluk, Mysore district) from the early eleventh century (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 221) has a passing

reference to a possessor of cows *(tuṟuvāḷa)* (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Tuṟuvāḷa*), named Ciyalayya. He was one among numerous witnesses belonging to various occupations who was present at the ceremony at which the title of *Goggiyācāri* was conferred on Buvacari's son by Goggi Gāvuṇḍa. Another reference to a possessor of cows *(tuṟuaḷma)* (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Tuṟu, Aḷma*) comes from the Tinnilli hero-stone (Shrinivaspur taluk, Kolar district) of c. AD 880, which records the death of Pottalgagi, a tuṟuaḷma, probably in the defence of cattle in the cattle raid by Shri Kandiyya. The deceased hero received one khaṇḍuga of paddy land (kaḷani) and five koḷagas of waste land (ūrpāḷ) (Rice 1905, 10: Sp 50).

There is only one reference to a shepherd, which appears in the Basavatti inscription (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 126). This registers the grant of two khaṇḍugas of land and taxes on land (maṇṇadeṟe) as well as the remission of taxes on shepherds (kuṟimbadeṟe) in favour of their chief [?] (kuṟimba gāvuṇḍa) and Katakaya. A sheep fold or shepherds' hamlet (kuṟipaṭṭi) at or near Armeleyapalli is also referred to in the Basavatti inscription. The Kanatur inscription (Alur taluk, Hassan district) of AD 1025 has a passing reference to a *kuṟivaḷḷi*, possibly a shepherds' hamlet (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Al 8). The inscription records the tying of the chaplet *(śeṭṭivaṭṭa)* on the Gāvuṇḍa of Kanatur. Maca Gāvuṇḍa of the shepherds' hamlet [?] (kuṟivaḷḷi) is among the numerous witnesses to the occasion.

Thus, there are a few references to owners of herds of cattle, chiefly from Shimoga district and one each from the Mysore and Kolar districts. Two references to cowherds are also available. There are but two references to shepherds and their hamlets, of which one is suspect. A more complete picture of the pastoral economy of the region in the early medieval period can be obtained from a study of the distribution of hero-stones to those who fell in cattle raids.

CATTLE RAIDS

Cattle raids, destructive raids on villages *(ūr-aḷivu)* and assaults on women *(peṇḍir-uḍeyuḷcal)* are frequently recorded in inscriptions. A combination of all these is found in the Kogodu inscription (Belur taluk, Hassan district) from the early eleventh century. This records the death of Macayya, the nephew of Shivara

Gāvuṇḍa of Kogodu, in a raid on their village by Gandara Dumma Katayya, a general of Nitimaharaja, a Kadamba chief. The raid is described as the destruction of a village (ūr-aḷivu), an assault on mothers *(tāy-uḍeyuḷcal)* and a cattle raid (tuṟugol) (Krishna 1939, 143–45 no. 36). These situations are mentioned by Ranna in the *Gadāyuddham* (c. AD 990) as among the chief occasions during which a hero could display his prowess (Kulkarni 1985, 2: 24).

Cattle raids have been construed as relating to the prevailing militarism of the age (Settar and Kalaburgi 1982, 28). Indeed, in some cases they appear to have been motivated primarily by political factors. Such was undoubtedly the case in the episodes mentioned in the *Pampa Bhārata*, which recounts that, in order to expose the Pandavas, who were believed to be residing incognito in the Matsya country, Duryodhana and his ally Susharma of Trigarta carry off the cattle of Virata from the north and south *(uttara...dakṣiṇa gōgrahaṇa)* and provoke war. Pampa has given a stirring account of the spirit of the defenders in the course of the description of the cattle raid (Anantharangachar 1977, VIII.95). Similarly, inscriptions from Guduve (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 1032 record the death of several heroes in a cattle raid by the Kadamba chief, Shantayyadeva, on Guduve in retaliation for an attack on the fort (kōṭe) of Banavasi (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 60–63). A ninth-century hero-stone from Challapura (Arsikere taluk, Hassan district) refers to a cattle raid on Kellangere in the course of a war over Sindhamma nāḍu *(sindhamma nāḍa bavaradoḷu)* (Rice 1902, 5: Ak 99).

In the majority of the cases, however, the context of a cattle raid appears to have been purely local. Some records mention Beda attacks; the forest- and hill-dwelling Bedas were a constant menace to the settled populations of the plains and valleys (Derrett 1957, 9). The Bedas are generally associated with cattle raids, as is indicated by the *Chāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇam*, in which the cattle of Vinita-nagara are carried off by Kalaka, a hunter dwelling in a Beda hamlet, in association with a fallen brahmana (Kulkarni 1975, 331). Inscriptions from Bettadakurali (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) record two cattle raids by the Bedas in AD 954 and AD 964 (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 202, 203). The Cikkacavuti hero-stone (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) records the death of Piriya Attiya Gāvuṇḍa of Kaccavikola in the defence of the cattle that were being driven away by the Bedas (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 240).

Other Beda incursions are recorded in an inscription from Kambadahalli (Nagamangala taluk, Mandya district) of AD 979 (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ng 34) and three from Nallur (Alur taluk, Hassan district) dated AD 985 (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Al 35–37). These, however, were not cattle raids; the Kambadahalli inscription records the abduction of the women of Bindiganavale by the Bedas and the Nallur inscriptions the destruction of a village.

Apart from raids by the Bedas, there are several references to cattle raids by the inhabitants of neighbouring villages. Thus, the Kurubele inscription (Bowringpet taluk, Kolar district) of c. AD 890 records the death of Marangal Oḍeya Kandamayya and Namagandhila Gandayya in a cattle raid (Rice 1905, 10: Bp 64); the name of the settlement that was raided is not mentioned. Similarly, the Nekkundi inscription (Chintamani taluk, Kolar district) of the same period records the death of a gāvuṇḍa in a cattle raid, and the grant of five koḷagas of paddy land (kaḷani) by the king (arasa) to his family (Rice 1905, 10: Ct 36). Here again, the place that was raided as well as the settlement to which the raider belonged is not specified. In the Bammondahalli inscription (Anekal taluk, Bangalore district) from the close of the ninth century a cattle raid on Kadambur is recorded, in which Mangala Bivanna, a servant *(āḷ)* of Nagattara, died. The cattle raid was led by Nagadeva (Rice 1905, 9: An 73). There is no mention of where the raiders came from.

In contrast, the Bharangi hero-stone (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 957 records a cattle raid on Kannasoge (in Shikarpur taluk) by Pebba Gāvuṇḍa of Bharangi (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 326). An individual named Baisarikaruva Muddanna died in the attack when he fled with the cattle. Similarly, the Niduvani inscription (Hole-Narsipur taluk, Hassan district) of AD 970 records a cattle raid on Niduvani by Kencha Gāvuṇḍa of Bidirhaka (in the same taluk) (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: HN 130). A hero-stone from Nagamangala (Nagamangala taluk, Mandya district) records the death of Tanadakayya, the Gāvuṇḍa of Idugur, in a cattle raid (tuṟugōḷ) on Adityapatti (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ng 12). The Cinakurali inscription (Pandavapura taluk, Mandya district) of AD 1011 records a raid by Turuvakanna of Cikavangala on a cattle pen *(tuṟuvaḷaga)*; the cattle were subsequently rescued by Nagayya (Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Ppu 51). A similar attack on a cattle stall *(koṭṭaga)* (Kittel 1986: q.v. *Koṭṭage*) is referred to in

an inscription from Laksmanapura (Heggadedevanakote taluk, Mysore district) of AD 1030. The cattle raider was Shantayya, the father-in-law *(māva)* of Tattala Eca Gāvuṇḍa. He was attacked and the cattle rescued by Binnandi, who fell in the skirmish (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 98).

The examples cited above would suggest that it was the gāvuṇḍas who most often undertook both the raids on and the defence of cattle. This impression is further strengthened by other epigraphic references. The Kattemanuganahalli inscription (Heggadedevanakote taluk, Mysore district) of the ninth century records the death of Rama, the son of Permānaḍi Gāvuṇḍa, while engaged in the rescue of the cattle of Kottamangala, which were carried off by the people of Bayal nāḍu in the course of a battle *(vigraha)* (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 5). The Iggali inscription (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of the ninth century records the rescue of the cattle of Iggaliyur by three gāvuṇḍas, Adhikari Gāvuṇḍa, Charama Gāvuṇḍa and Shivaya Gāvuṇḍa (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 205). The Kurgal inscription (Piriyapatna taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century records the death of a Gāvuṇḍa of Kurgallu in a cattle raid (tuṟugōḷ) (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Pp 28), while an early eleventh-century hero-stone from Kittur (Piriyapatna taluk, Mysore district) records the death of a son of Bijaya Gāvuṇḍa of Kittur in a similar raid (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Pp 144). A tenth-century record from Ereyur (Gundlupet taluk, Mysore district) refers to the rescue of the cattle of Eraur by Kadi Gāvuṇḍa (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Gu 171). The Arakere inscription (Shimoga taluk, Shimoga district) records the death of Bettuga, the younger brother of Mara Gāvuṇḍa of ... kere, in a cattle raid (Rice 1902, 7: Sh 22). Lastly, the Mavinakere inscription (Nagamangala taluk, Mandya district) of the tenth century records the death of Rajayya, son of Gangi Gāvuṇḍa, while rescuing cattle (tuṟuvan ikkisi) (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ng 128).

Although references to cattle raids by gāvuṇḍas outnumber the rest, this practice was not restricted to them alone. There are some references to merchants (śeṭṭis) and artisans (ācāri, kammāṟa, ōja) engaged in cattle raids or in the rescue of cattle, which would show that cattle were maintained by all classes of people in this period. Two records from Alattur (Gundlupet taluk, Mysore district) of the ninth century refer to a cattle raid by a group of merchants led by Ammana Śeṭṭi on Atti, probably in Chola nāḍu,

to which they had gone for trade *(paradu pōgi)* (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Gu 36, 37). It is unclear why the merchants should have engaged in a cattle raid. It is possible that they traded in cattle and the action they undertook was defensive rather than offensive. However, the term tuṟugōl is generally used to denote an offensive action while *tuṟuvan maguḷci* and tuṟuvan ikkisi are used to denote a defensive or rescue operation.[16] The use of the former in this case might point to the fact that the raiders were merchants.

Two other records referring to cattle raids (tuṟugōl) by traders come from Elevala (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) dated AD 1013, which record the death of two śeṭṭis of Midiyapallaga. The place they raided is not mentioned (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 385, 386). Two other hero-stones from Mudaloda (Gauribidanur taluk, Kolar district) of c. AD 930 record the death of two śeṭṭis in a cattle raid; neither the name of the raided settlement nor the place to which the śeṭṭis belonged is specified (Rice 1905, 10: Gd 85, 86). The Bechirakh Jakkasandra inscription (Dodda-Ballapura taluk, Bangalore district) from the close of the tenth century records the death of Cabbi Śeṭṭi, the son of Dhalaga Kovara Basava Śeṭṭi, in the defence of the cattle of Kadalvagilu, which were being carried off by Karagadi Sandimalla (Rice 1905, 9: DB 9). An inscription from Medutambihalli (Kolar taluk, Kolar district) of the early ninth century records the tying of a chaplet *(paṭṭa)* and the grant of five koḷagas of paddy land in a peasant settlement (ūr) to the son of Balimindana Śeṭṭi for his prowess in a cattle raid on Puttur (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 233). It is not quite clear whether the śeṭṭi was a raider or a defender.

However, the term śeṭṭi is used to denote not only traders and bankers but also men engaging in certain industries such as oil pressing (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Śeṭṭi*). This distinction is brought out by the Haralakunte hero-stone (Kolar taluk, Kolar district) of AD 966, which records the death of Gange Śeṭṭi, the son of Perundali Śeṭṭi of the oil-miller community (gāṇiga) (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Gāṇiga*), in a cattle raid by Kalasyare Panatiya (Rice 1905,

[16] Tuṟuvan ikkisi in Rice 1905, 9: Ht 110, Dv 42, DB 9; 1905, 10: Mb 261, 203, Bp 48, Sd 59; and tuṟuvan maguḷci in Gopal et al., indicating death in defence of cattle.

10: Kl 245). Gange Śeṭṭi seems to have been a defender. Thus, although there are several references to śeṭṭis engaged in capturing or rescuing cattle, only one instance relates unambiguously to traders. As the Kanatur inscription (Alur taluk, Hassan district) bears witness, the title Śeṭṭi could be conferred on gāvuṇḍas as well (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Al 8). The Haralakunte hero-stone indicates that even gāṇigas and men of other communities could bear this title. It is unclear whether the many instances of śeṭṭis that have been cited above really related to traders or to men of other occupations.

The Civali inscription (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century is the first available record to refer to the possession of cattle by artisans. The wording of the record is ambiguous, but it seems to register the rescue of the cattle of Jobacari and Dasimacari of Kalkuni by Gavare Ācāri. No cattle raid is specifically mentioned (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 294). The other inscription, from Kodakani (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) dated AD 1015, appears to record a cattle raid *(tuṟu pariye)* by the servants *(pari* [?]*)*[17] of Chattayyadeva (Rice 1894, 8: Sb 16). The cattle were rescued by Arjuna Kammāṟa, a blacksmith. A grant of sixty *kammas* (a land measure) (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Kamma*) of land was made in his memory, while his son Cattoja set up the memorial stone. An ōja is an artificer—a carpenter, blacksmith or goldsmith (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Ōja, Kammāṟa*); in this case it probably indicated a blacksmith.

The evidence reviewed so far would indicate that cattle raids were a frequent occurrence throughout the area under study. The surprising exception is the Chikmagalur district, which does not yield a single reference to cattle raids. In most cases these were purely local events, with the inhabitants of a village lifting the cattle of a neighbouring settlement; in others, it was the tribals who made incursions on settled tracts to carry off the cattle.

Hero-stones commemorating cattle raids certainly point, on the one hand, to the prevailing militarism and lawlessness of the age (Settar and Kalaburgi 1982, 28) but they also indicate the importance of the pastoral elements in the economy of the region.

[17] Pari by itself does not make sense. In this context it probably stands for *parikara*, attendants or retinue (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Pari, Parikara*).

Cattle must have been sufficiently valuable economic assets for the gāvuṇḍas, śeṭṭis and ācāris to have risked life and limb to increase their livestock by capturing the herds of the neighbouring village, or to defend their own cattle. Kolar district yields three references to the capture of buffaloes as well (Krishna 1930, 137 no. 12; Rice 1905, 10: Bp 47, Sd 39). This is not to deny that in many cases cattle raids served as a provocation to war or the opening gambit in a battle, as illustrated above.

That cattle were valuable economic assets is also indicated by references to taxes on ghee *(tuppadeṟe)*. A ninth-century inscription from Ishvarahalli (Chikmagalur taluk, Chikmagalur district) records the remission of tolls on ghee in perpetuity *(tuppaman ellākālakkam biṭṭam)*. There is a reference to *baṇiga bāḷiga* in the inscription, which R. Shama Sastri has interpreted as a group of merchants, to whom such a remission was granted (Shama Sastri 1922–23, 40 no. 4). Similarly, the Kunche inscription (Hole-Narsipur taluk, Hassan district) of c. AD 873 records the grant of the income from the taxes on ghee (tuppadeṟe) to the Mahājanas of Kunche (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: HN 97). A tax on ghee is also mentioned in the Kumsi inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 931; its context is unclear, however, since the inscription is fragmentary (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 83). The Chittavalli temple was possibly granted imposts on ghee along with some villages, in an inscription from Chikmagalur taluk, Chikmagalur district dated AD 1025 (Rice 1901, 6: Cm 95).[18]

The Kyatanahalli inscription (Pandavapura taluk, Mandya district), assignable to the close of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth century, records a grant in kind of a sollage of white rice *(beḷiyakki)* and of ghee *(tuppa)* for Kella basadi in addition to a gift of forced labour *(biṭṭi)* (Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Ppu 16).

Apart from taxes on ghee and its grant in kind, an inscription of the seventh century from Kigga (Koppa taluk, Chikmagalur district) records the grants of taxes *(vari)* in kind of paddy and cow's milk *(kavileya pālu)* to a temple at Kilga (Rice 1901, 6: Kp 37). Another seventh-century record from Kigga registers

[18] Lines 17–18 refer to *śoppa*, which was possibly an orthographical error for *tuppa*.

the grant of cows and land *(go maṇṇu)* also for a temple at Kilga (Rice 1901, 6: Kp 39). Similarly, the Hebbata inscription (Shrinivaspur taluk, Kolar district) of c. AD 900 records the grant of good quality cows *(aggaḷa tuṟu)* to a hero who apparently perished in defence of the cattle of Perbhata (modern Hebbata). The grant was made by the Shaiva monk *(gōrava)* Bhavashiva, who was said to be pre-eminent in the realm of the sacred *(tapas)* (Rice 1905, 10: Sp 29).

The evidence available of the existence of large herds, frequent cattle raids undertaken particularly by the gāvuṇḍas, references to cowherds and shepherds and finally of taxes and imposts on milk and milk products would support the argument for the vital role played by pastoralism in the economy of the region. Animal husbandry was, in part, a product of the geography of the region. The availability of abundant pasturage for cattle and sheep as well as a large acreage of uncultivable lands contributed to cattle- and sheep-rearing as an important occupation. While the construction of tanks did win more lands for agriculture, at no time did agriculture altogether dominate and outstrip cattle rearing, at least during the period under study. Mixed farming did prevail, however, as will be shown below.

EVIDENCE FOR MIXED FARMING

Several instances have been cited of land being granted either alone or together with cattle herds for heroes who fought and perished in cattle raids. Thus, for instance, the eighth-century Hulikunda hero-stone (Bowringpet taluk, Kolar district) records the grant of four koḷagas of paddy land (kaḷani) for Nagadeva, who died in the defence of cattle, by Miligeya-arasu and Attani (Rice 1905, 10: Bp 48). Kaliyanna, whose death in a cattle raid is recorded in a ninth-century inscription from Toremavu (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district), received five koḷagas of cultivable land at Manali (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 180). Anileya's son received five koḷagas of paddy land (kaḷani) and ten kolagas of grazing land [?] (aḍuvu) for rescuing cattle (turuvan ikkisi) from the Shaiva monk (gōrava) Ajayapalla around the end of the ninth century (Rice 1905, 9: Ht 110). Similarly, a tenth-century record states that Kadi Gāvuṇḍa of Eraur, who died in defence of the cattle of his village, received two hundred [?] (ilmūru) units of paddy land (bhattada maṇṇu) at Sirivantagala (Gopal et al. 1974,

3: Gu 171). Ponnavayya, who died fighting in a cattle raid (tuṟugōl) received five koḷagas of land below the tank of his elder (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Yl 14). The Gāvuṇḍa of Kurgal, who fell in a cattle raid (tuṟugōl) received three khaṇḍugas of land as a kalnāḍ from Ereyanga II Ganga (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Pp 28). Ipagonda, who seems to have died rescuing the cattle of Maravur, received four khaṇḍugas of wet land besides a stream *(paḷḷa galde)* (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Hs 5).

There is at least one instance of a village being granted in appreciation of valour exhibited in the defence of cattle. This comes from the Iggali inscription (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of the ninth century, which registers the grant of Madigere as an estate *(vaḷita)* for Adhikari Gāvuṇḍa, Charama Gāvuṇḍa and Shivaya Gāvuṇḍa, who had protected the cattle of Iggaliyur from a raid (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 205).

That the economy of the region was based on a combination of cattle rearing and agriculture is also borne out by the grants of land and villages by Kaṭakada-gōva Chattayyadeva, as recorded in the Hecce inscription (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 476). Similarly, Virapurna, the watchman of the king's cattle in the *Vaḍḍārādhane*, was granted ten cows from the king's herd and three thousand khaṇḍugas of paddy land as his perquisite *(arasa...tanna gōmaṇḍaladoḷ agolliduvappa pattu payanumam mūsāsira gaṇḍuga bhattarumaṁ pramānam māḍi koṭṭa)* (Narasimhachar 1986, 66). The grants of taxes on land and two khaṇḍugas of land to the Kuṟimba Gāvuṇḍa in the Basavatti inscription (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 126) reinforces the point.

Agriculture and cattle- or sheep-rearing thus do not appear to have been mutually exclusive. Pastoral nomadism also does not seem to exist. It is possible that the tribals, the Bedas, belonged to this category, but beyond their predatory cattle raids there is no evidence to support this contention. J. D. M. Derrett suggests that

> they raised crops precariously, wherever uneven ground and rare security permitted. They hunted beasts of the forest, sold sandal and other timber to the merchants and often raided outlying farms and villages, carrying off women, cows and draught cattle (Derrett 1957, 9).

Thus, agriculture and pastoralism went hand in hand among the settled populations. Cattle herds were possessed by the

gāvuṇḍas, the upper stratum of the peasantry to judge from a reference to a possessor of large herds (gōsāsa gāvuṇḍa) and from their frequent participation in cattle raids. Ownership of cattle herds was not restricted to the gāvuṇḍas alone; artisans and merchants, too, possessed cattle, and trade in cattle and milk products could therefore perhaps be posited.

Urban Centres

Definitions of urbanism, according to Gordon Childe, usually specify a set of economic, social and morphological criteria. Such criteria generally include a large population chiefly engaged in non-agricultural occupations, particularly trade and manufacture; monumental buildings; a ruling elite drawing agricultural surplus from the countryside; and a bureaucracy. Urban centres also function as hubs of exchange, and consequently markets are a major characteristic in most such definitions (Carter 1983, 8–9).

Others stress morphological criteria in defining urbanism. Bradley, in his study of urbanisation in Anglo-Norman Ireland, uses features such as walls, castles, bridges, cathedrals, etc., in addition to the holding of a market and the possession of a street plan with houses and associated plots in his identification of urban centres (Graham 1987, 174). B. J. Graham, however, points out that these requirements lead to problems such as weighting, and the arbitrary combination of disparate elements. Moreover, such criteria define bigger urban centres, but are ineffective at the lower end of the urban hierarchy to which the majority of the settlements characterised as urban belong, where the small peasant town merges into the village. Graham thus stresses the rural–urban continuum and the fact that an element of intuition is inseparable from all such schemes of definition (Graham 1987, 175).

Rodney Hilton, too, appears to emphasise the rural–urban continuum. In his study of the west Midlands society in the thirteenth century, he describes a four-tier urban hierarchy: At the top is London, with a large population of about 50,000 and participation in international trade; next are provincial capitals such as York and Bristol, with populations in the range of 10,000 to 20,000; followed by country towns, port and textile towns such as Beverley and Coventry, with populations in the range of

2,000 to 4,000; and finally, on the lowest rung, a large number of small market-towns that served as an outlet for agricultural producers to sell their grain, livestock and dairy produce and buy manufactured goods in metal, textiles and other products. Many of these market-towns were indistinguishable from large villages (Hilton 1983, 168). Nevertheless, "the primary, real meaning of urban status, the separation from the rural hinterland" lay in "the specialisation in non-agricultural occupations, the presence of merchants and artisans and ... the existence of a market" (Hilton 1983, 169).

The same emphasis on the presence of crafts and money-based exchange as the principal characteristics of urban centres is found in R. S. Sharma's work on urban decay in the early medieval period. In his opinion, while the agrarian surplus derived from the hinterland is vital for the town's existence, merely a settlement of non-agriculturists cannot be regarded as an urban centre (Sharma 1987, 5). To this effect he cites evidence from *Mayamata* and *Mānasāra*, texts on architecture, which define a commercial village *(nigama)* as inhabited by people of all classes and numerous artisans. Similarly, Kaiyata, an eleventh-century grammarian, was of the opinion that a nagara was a settlement surrounded by a wall and a moat and marked by the prevalence of the laws and customs of the guilds of artisans and merchants (Sharma 1987, 5). It is interesting to note that Sri Lankan sources of the ancient period also defined a city as a settlement characterised by the twin features of circumvallation and commerce. Commercial centres without protective ramparts were not considered to be cities but merely commercial villages (nigama) or settlements of merchants *(vaṇijagāma)* (Gunawardana 1989, 158).

In contrast to Sharma, G. Erdosy considers the administrative function of urban centres as of primary importance. He defines urban centres as "the containers of those institutions that are required for the maintenance of increasingly complex and inegalitarian societies". Consequently, as urbanisation proceeds apace, institutions of social control are aggregated in a restricted number of settlements. This facilitates their supervision and control by the emerging ruling elite of society (Erdosy 1988, 5). The earliest urban centres, in his opinion, did not differ much from the villages; what characterised them as urban centres was their ability to attract the surplus of the hinterland. After

considerable accumulation of resources over time, they came to assume a more durable, monumental aspect with diverse functions—economic and ideological in addition to the administrative. Thus, mature urban centres are characterised by the predominance of one of these three functions. Over time, most centres tend to develop an increasingly economic bias and become the pivots of a redistributive economic system. Erdosy thus distinguishes the early "ceremonial centre" from the mature urban centre (Erdosy 1985, 88–89).

While Harold Carter, too, envisages a link between the emergence of the urban centre and the territorial, class-based state, he views an urban centre as "a form of social organisation based on occupational specialisation and social stratification of a territorially based population which has acquired a formal corporate identity" (Carter 1983, 3). This definition is vague, since the nature of occupational specialisation is not specified; it could equally be applied to many rural settlements that had "formal corporate identity" in early medieval southern Karnataka as well.

A general, comprehensive definition is offered by A. Ghosh. He suggests that the distinctive features of urban centres were "a population denser than in the rural areas and settled in a restricted area; only a limited part of its area, if at all, is utilised for agricultural purposes; a population predominantly non-agricultural in occupation and dependent on rural areas for supplies of food and raw materials, which necessitates the presence of merchants to supply citizens with the necessities of life" (Ghosh 1973, 18). He suggests that urban centres may have had specialised functions, some being merely political or administrative seats, others hubs of trade and commerce and still others religious centres.

R. A. L. H. Gunawardana in his study of Anuradhapura in Sri Lanka points out that this city combined all these functions. In addition to being a political centre it was also a city of monasteries and, as a result, a focal point of religious and intellectual activity. It was the centre of ritual for the entire island, but at the same time the city was also an institutional expression of the power of the king and the ruling elite as a whole, with its separation of zonés, fortifications, impressive residences within the inner city and the massive main gates. In conjunction with its hinterland,

the city was also a centre for irrigation development and agriculture based on better technology. It was the seat of urban individuals with interests in irrigation property. This last feature, in Gunawardana's opinion, sets apart Anuradhapura and similar cities of Asia from their counterparts in other parts of the world (Gunawardana 1989, 175–76). With these definitions in mind, an examination of the sources throwing light on urban centres in the region and period under study follows below.

DESCRIPTIONS OF TOWNS IN LITERARY WORKS

Kannada literary works of the tenth century give fairly stereotyped descriptions of towns *(poḷal)*. In most cases they commence by situating the town in the country to which it belonged. Thus, most stories and sub-stories of the *Vaḍḍārādhane* start in the set form: "In this Jambudvipa's Bharata kṣētra, in the country [nāḍu] named [for instance] Puravardhana, there is a town [poḷal] named Kaundini-nagara which is ruled by ..." (Narasimhachar 1986, 117). Similarly, Pampa sets Hastinapura in the nāḍu or viṣaya known as Kurujangana, which are described respectively as: "the capital, a moon in the locks of Hara, i.e., the kingdom of Kurujangana" (Anantharangachar 1977, I.51 vacana).

The salient features of Hastinapura seem to have been the artificial hills of gold *(kanaka kṛtaka girigaḷ)*, gardens filled with fruit-laden trees and creepers and numerous ponds in the outer part of the town *(porapoḷal)*; in the inner part of the town *(oḷage)*, surrounded by walls of gold *(kanakasaladim)*, were streets filled with elephants and horses, temples, the shops of merchants rivalling the house of Kubera himself *(dhanada bhavanam enipa siriyạ baccarapaṇaṁgaḷim)*, the courtesans' street *(sūḷegēri)*, the royal palaces *(bhūmipāla bhavana)* and the treasury filled with wares *(samasta vastu bhuvana)* (Anantharangachar 1977, I.58).

The description of Ekacakrapura follows along the same lines but with certain differences. In the first place, it is not described as the capital of any kingdom. It appears to have been an urban centre, but on a lower rung of the urban hierarchy. In addition to artificial hills *(kṛtaka giri)* and gardens *(nandana)*, there is a reference to paddy fields *(gandha śāli)* as well. Within the fort *(koṇṭeyoḷ)*, protected by a wide trench *(jaḷadhiyenipagaḷa nīlpa)*, were situated various temples *(dēvagṛha)*, shops filled with precious stones *(pañcaratunadoḷe neṟeda pasara)* and merchants

(parada) surpassing Kubera himself (Anantharangachar 1977, III.22). The total lack of reference to the palace and treasury would support the contention that Ekacakrapura was primarily a religious and commercial centre and not a politico-administrative one.

Systematic descriptions of this kind are not available for other towns mentioned in this work. Varanavata is designated a town (poḷal) as well, but it is not described in detail save for a general verse in praise of its prosperity. The houses were washed with water perfumed with musk *(kattūriya sagaṇa nīr)*, decorated with designs made with pearls *(biḍu muttina rangavaḷḷi)* and silken flags *(dugulada guḍi)* (Anantharangachar 1977, III.2). It is possible that this was an urban centre barely distinguishable from a village. Although Dvaraka, too, is not described in any depth, the references to palaces (Anantharangachar 1977, 4.38 vacana), to streets through which the procession passed (1977, IV: 35–38) and finally to the courtesans' quarter (sūḷegēri) (1977, 4: 80–110) would place the city on par with Hastinapura.

References to towns abound in the *Vaḍḍārādhane*, but systematic descriptions such as those the *Pampa Bhārata* affords are not available. However, the salient features of a town are briefly enumerated in the story of Bhadrabahu Bhatara, in which Chandragupta perceives the magical city within the forest. It had majestic buildings and storied houses *(dhavaḷāraṅgagaḷum neleya māḍaṁgaḷum)*, temples *(dēvālaya)*, a courtesans' street (sūḷegēri) and streets filled with men, elephants and horses (Narasimhachar 1986, 133). The story of Vidyuchora yields references to the palace, the houses of diamond merchants *(baccara)*, cloth merchants *(dūsigar)*, officials *(niyōgi)*, feudatories (sāmanta) and courtesans *(sūḷe)* (Narasimhachar 1986, 166–67). The *Vaḍḍārādhane* also refers to the grain market in the city, to which the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages came to sell their grain, in the description of the elaborate fraud undertaken by Vainayaka and his confederates in the story of Sukumarasvami. The confederates used false measures and stored the stolen grain in a subterranean apartment *(nelamane)*; their deception was detected by the headman *(ūrgāmuṇḍa)* of Kausala who came to Champa-nagara to sell paddy (bhatta) (Narasimhachar 1986, 64).

The *Vaḍḍārādhane* refers to a whole range of settlement categories – grāma, nagara, *khēḍa*, *kharvaḍa*, *madamba*, *paṭṭaṇa* and *drōṇāmukha* – in describing the peregrinations of Jaina monks.

This is a formulaic reference, occurring each time a Jaina monk or nun is mentioned (Narasimhachar 1986, 51, 53, 71). These terms are probably reflections of an earlier period of urban efflorescence. As Erdosy points out, terms for urban settlements proliferate in the sources from the Mauryan period and thereafter. He suggests that such terms can now be classified as administrative or economic centres, although the two functions were often combined, as in the fortified towns described in the *Arthaśāstra*. Among terms for administrative centres, Erdosy includes drōṇāmukha and *kharvaṭika*, while paṭṭana together with *paṇyapuṭabhēdana* (inland trading-post) and nigama (trading centre) are included in the second category (Erdosy 1985, 92).

Thus, descriptions of towns in the *Pampa Bhārata* seem to indicate a functional specialisation, with Hastinapura and Dvaraka being primarily seats of political authority. References to merchants and their shops are made even in the descriptions of such centres. Ekacakrapura seems to be purely an economic centre. The reference to paddy fields in the outer parts of the town is also significant, reminiscent of Gunawardana's characterisation of Anuradhapura and other Asian cities as the seats of urban individuals with agricultural interests. The inner parts of Hastinapura, Dvaraka and Ekacakrapura were probably walled-in and fortified. The difference between the two types of cities lies principally in the lack of reference to palaces at Ekacakrapura. Varanavata, though termed a town, is barely described and seems indistinguishable from a village.[19]

The *Vaḍḍārādhane* records many features of urbanism. The monuments of Champa-nagara, such as the palaces of the royalty, feudatories and merchants, are much emphasised. There are also specific references to occupational specialisations – to diamond dealers and cloth merchants, for instance – and clear indications of the mobilisation of the surplus of the rural hinterland in the reference to the grain market to which rural producers brought their products for sale. Similar conclusions on urbanism can be drawn from the *Pampa Bhārata*'s reference to the treasury at Hastinapura.

[19] There are no references to merchants or artisans; on the other hand, its rural character is equally unclear, for there is no indication that its inhabitants were chiefly engaged in agriculture.

Many details provided by literary works of these kinds are fanciful in the extreme. The artificial hills of gold and the golden walls of Hastinapura mentioned in the *Pampa Bhārata* are obviously imaginary; references to palaces of seven storeys or more in the *Vaḍḍārādhane* may be similarly dismissed.

Although there are several references to houses and palaces in literary works, street layouts are not so clearly picturised. The only street or locality repeatedly mentioned is the courtesans' street or quarter. Although it is said to be frequented by the townsfolk, *(purajana viṭa)* (Anantharangachar 1977, I.58; 1977, IV.79 vacana), the courtesans appear to be part of the royal household *(peṇḍavāsada sūḷe)* (Anantharangachar 1977, III.48 vacana; Narasimhachar 1986, 124); there are also references to courtesans repairing to the royal palace (Anantharangachar 1977, IV.49 vacana).

EPIGRAPHIC REFERENCES TO URBAN CENTRES

Distinguishing urban centres in epigraphic references is rendered difficult by the fact that settlement details are rather scanty. Often urban centres can be distinguished only from the terms used to refer to them. This is the case with Kirumundaniri-nagara, for instance, mentioned in the Keregalur (Hassan taluk, Hassan district) of Madhavavarman II Ganga (Talakad branch) of the fifth century, in which a tenth share (bhāga) of this settlement included within Devalige viṣaya was granted to brahmanas (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Hn 10). The term nagara, applied to Kirumundaniri, is clearly distinguished from grāma, which term is used for the five villages in Vallavi viṣaya that were also granted as brahmadēya. It is unclear whether the one-tenth share related to taxes and, if so, whether the taxes were levied in cash or kind.[20] The Keregalur plates also record the laying of the foundation of Sangamapura in Sendraka viṣaya by the king *(sēndraka viṣaye saṁgamapuraṁ sthāpayitva)* (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Hn 10). The urban character of this settlement is even more unclear than in the case of Kirumundaniri-nagara, being restricted to the use of the term

[20] N. Karashima suggests in his study of village communities that settlements for which the revenue was assessed in cash only were probably urban in character (Karashima 1984c, 53).

pura, which is generally applicable to towns. There are references in the Keregalur plates to the Manigrama Śrēṇi (probably the itinerant trade guild of that name) as also to the Tuviyal Śrēṣṭhi group. Both the Manigrama Śrēṇi and the Tuviyal Śrēṣṭhi figure among the witnesses to the grants and thus point to the existence of trade in this period. The two guilds are, however, not clearly associated with the urban centres.

The Mysore copper-plates (Mysore taluk, Mysore district) of the fifth century refer in passing to Giri-nagara. It was situated to the south of Kandasala grāma, which was granted as brahmadēya by Madhavavarman I Ganga. Apart from the nagara suffix, there is no positive proof in this case of the urban character of this settlement (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 103). Another fifth-century reference to an urban centre comes from the Birur copper-plates (Kadur taluk, Chikmagalur district) of Vishnuvarman Kadamba, which mentions Vaijayanti (Banavasi), "the ornament of Karnata dēśa, adorned with eighteen *maṇḍapikas*" (Rice 1901, 6: Kd 162). These were probably customs houses for levying tolls on incoming goods (Sircar 1966: q.v. *Maṇḍapikā;* Chattopadhyaya 1974, 203–19), which would indicate that Vaijayanti was a major trade centre in the fifth century.

Banavasi as a settlement dates back to the Satavahana period. Excavations reveal that it was a fortified settlement in as early as the fifth century, when, according to the Birur copper-plates, it served as the capital of the Kadambas (Sharma 1987, 86). Banavasi retained its importance throughout the early medieval period. The Sorab copper-plates (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of Vinayaditya Chalukya refer to Banavasi and its Nagara – the corporate body – as figuring among the witnesses to the grant of Salivoge grāma, situated to the northeast of Banavasi, to a brahmana by the monarch (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 571). A supplementary grant, however, records that Salivoge was given to one Devere, the son of Santapa, by Basanta Kumara, the son-in-law (aḷiya) of Aneseti (a śeṭṭi [?]) of Banavasi (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 571, ll. 27–30). The confusion created by the double grant notwithstanding, the urban character of Banavasi emerges clearly enough from this record of AD 692. The term nagara is used both as a terminological suffix and for the corporate body of Banavasi. Apart from this, the possible reference to a merchant (śeṭṭi) would appear to satisfy every criterion for defining a town. However, it is necessary to

recollect that śetti does not always mean trader; the title could also be borne by headmen of other occupational groups such as the gāṇigas and gāvuṇḍas as well.

That Banavasi was a fortified settlement is clear not only from excavations but also from epigraphic records. The Guduve hero-stones of AD 1030, which register deaths in a cattle raid, mention the fort (kōṭe) of Banavasi (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 60–62). Banavasi continued to be the capital of Banavasi-12,000. Although the feudatories ruling this unit changed fairly rapidly, the political importance of Banavasi did not diminish. It was apparently recognised as a camp or capital (kaṭaka) in the Hecce inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 939 (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 476). In contrast to the other urban centres dating back to the fifth century, Banavasi continued to exist as an urban centre throughout the early medieval period, retaining at least its political role. There is no clear evidence to prove that it was an economic centre after the seventh century.

On the other hand, Kolala or Kuvalala – the earliest centre of power of the Gangas – does not initially show any signs of its urban character, and the records reveal no evidence as to the early development of the settlement. The Chaluvanahalli plates (Kolar taluk, Kolar district) of Madhavavarman II Ganga (Talakad branch) of the fifth century register the grant of three portions of wet land below the tank at Kuvalala (Ramesh 1984, 487–89 no. 157). Even the suffixes nagara or pura are not applied here, indicating that Kuvalala could not be distinguished from a rural settlement at this stage. By the seventh century, however, Kolala or Kuvalala came to acquire the suffix pura. The Bedirur grant charter of Bhuvikrama Ganga, dated AD 634, was issued from Kolalapura and registers the grant of Bedirur village in Hodali viṣaya to Vikramaditya Gāvuṇḍa, the lord of Kolala viṣaya (Ramesh 1984, 111–18 no. 29). Apart from the pura suffix and the fact that Kolala was the capital of the viṣaya by the same name, however, there is no other evidence to denote its urban character. Lithic inscriptions throughout the ninth and tenth centuries styled the Ganga kings "the excellent lord[s] of Kuvalalapura" *(kuvalālapuravarēśvara)* (Rice 1905, 10: Gd 4, Kl 79; Shama Sastri 1925, 74–75 no. 86) in token of their ancient association with the area; nevertheless, the Gangas do not appear to have exercised any effective control over this region.

Chola records from Kolala attest to the fact that it had become a religious centre by at least AD 1000; the Kolaramma temple and its associated shrines belong either to the late Ganga period or were constructed by the Cholas (Krishna 1942b, 44). The temple received the grant of the village Araiyur in the same nāḍu with all exemptions (sarva bādhā parihāra) in AD 1006–1007 (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 106[b]). Another inscription records the grant of the village Pasaipal in Kuvalala nāḍu for the goddess Pidariyar (Kolaramma) at Kuvalala (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 112[a]). A third record, dated c. AD 1024, registers the grant of Pakkam ... in Kuvalala nāḍu (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 106[c]); while an inscription of c. AD 1028 records the grant of Piragampalli, also for the same goddess (1905, 10: Kl 111). All these donations resulted in the temple of Kolaramma at Kolala accumulating a vast agrarian surplus drawn from the villages of the nāḍu. If the ability to attract the surplus of the rural hinterland is the major criterion for distinguishing an urban centre, then Kolala would qualify as one at least in the early eleventh century. There is no evidence of the other prerequisite, that of the presence of artisans and merchants.

Tarakad or Talavana-nagara (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district), situated on the left bank of the Kaveri, was an urban centre that probably started off as a seat of political authority. The earliest nucleus of Ganga power in the western region (comprising the modern districts of Mysore, Mandya, Hassan, Coorg, Chikmagalur and Shimoga) was established in this area by Harivarman Ganga. The Kudlur plates (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) of Harivarman, although dated in the Saka [?] year 188, are ascribable to the ninth century. They refer to the king residing at Talavanapura (Ramesh 1984, 10–12 no. 4). There is no reference to a victory camp *(vijaya skandhāvāra)*, as in the case of the Hallegere copper-plates (Mandya taluk, Mandya district) of Shivamara I Ganga dated AD 713, which mention it as the place of royal residence (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Md 35). Apart from the suffix pura, there is no other evidence for the urban character of the settlement.

An inscription from Talakad dated AD 725 from the reign of Shripurusha Ganga refers to the settlement as Tarakad, and apparently registers the grant of a hamlet *(paḷḷil viṭṭu)* by Arakesi, the śon of Paramagula, to the Twenty-five of Tarakad *(taṟekāḍa ippattayvarkkam)* at the request of Sinda-arasa, Devasatti-arasa

and Manasija (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 207). This record provides no clue whatsoever as to its urban character: no terminological suffix is used, nor is there any indication that the Twenty-five were a mercantile or artisanal guild. Tarakad was possibly a royal seat, going by the reference to numerous chieftains, but this is not specifically stated. Its urban character is to be deduced merely from the suffix pura given to it in the Hallegere copper-plates. Assuming, then, its urban status, the grant of a hamlet would indicate its control over the countryside. A similar conclusion has been drawn for Gopagiri by Chattopadhyaya (Chattopadhyaya 1974, 203–19).

The Devanur copper-plates (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of Kambharaja Ranavaloka Rashtrakuta, dated AD 808, provide further details on Tarakad by recording the grant of Badaneguppe village for Vijaya vasati, a jinalaya consecrated at Talavana-nagara. The grant was made by Kambharaja at the request of his son, Sankaraganna, while he was residing at the vijaya skandhāvāra at Talavana-nagara (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 279). This record reaffirms the status of Talavana-nagara as a royal centre. Temples situated here began to receive grants of villages for their maintenance, reinforcing the control exercised over the countryside by this urban centre by attracting the surplus of the hinterland to it. Similar evidence is presented by the spurious Mercara plates (Mercara taluk, Coorg district) of Avinita Ganga, which once again record the grant of Badaneguppe village to the same Jaina shrine at Talavana-nagara (Gopal et al. 1972, 1: 1–5 no. 1). An additional grant of twelve khaṇḍugas of land below Piriyakere tank at Pogarigele is also recorded in this inscription.

By the tenth century, Tarakad appears to have had another corporate body, the *Mahānagara*, apart from the Twenty-five. These two corporate groups, together with *Paṭṭaṇavasantara* Mancayya, invested some money *(dravya)* in a tank, for which they received a bittuvaṭṭa (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 200). The reference to the Mahānagara and to the official [?] paṭṭaṇavasantara might possibly indicate that Tarakad had grown into a trading centre (paṭṭaṇa)[21]

[21] Erdosy explains paṭṭaṇa as a port; in this case it may be taken as an inland trading centre (Erdosy 1985, 93).

with the status of a Mahānagara. The cash investment would also point in the same direction. The thrust of the record once more is on control of the rural hinterland and involvement in agricultural development. It may be recollected that Anuradhapura was likewise a seat of individuals with interests in irrigation property, a feature that Gunawardana opines was characteristic of South Asian cities generally (Gunawardana 1989, 176).

Tarakad came to be renamed Rajarajapuram in the period under Chola occupation. There is a solitary reference to it in a late tenth-century record from Tarakad. Unfortunately, the inscription is fragmentary and the details of the gift registered in it are consequently lost. However, one of the signatories to the gift was an individual from Rajarajapuram (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 169).

Evidence as to the urban character of Tarakad, then, is to be drawn principally from the terminological suffixes pura or nagara. It appears to have been a site of victory camps in the eighth and ninth centuries. This by itself does not mean that the settlement was urban; the Sorab copper-plates (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) mention that at the time of the grant, Vinayaditya Chalukya was residing at a vijaya skandhāvāra situated at Citrasedu grāma in Toramara viṣaya (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 571). Tarakad's status as an urban centre is therefore not derived only from the presence of victory camps—there is also evidence of a corporate body, the Twenty-five, in the early eighth century, while another body, the Mahānagara, had come into existence by the tenth century. The composition of both these groups is unknown, but available evidence indicates that their involvement was not in commerce or manufacture but in agriculture and irrigation. Reference to the Mahānagara at Tarakad might indicate that it had a position analogous to that of Kanchi-managara. Kanchi owed its pre-eminence in this period to the fact that it was the seat of political authority, a religious centre with numerous Shaiva and Vaishnava temples and a centre of commerce and textile production (Champakalakshmi 1986a, 44). The *mānagara* suffix probably relates to the last aspect, indicating that Kanchi stood at the apex of a network of exchange centres, the *nagarams*.[22] There is evidence,

[22] This is K. R. Hall's interpretation, although evidence of a systematic network of exchange centres is not available for the pre-tenth-century

in the case of Tarakad, which indicates that it was a royal centre (though not the only one in the region) as well as a religious centre. References to Jaina shrines have already been cited. A survey of the surviving temples at Tarakad suggests that the Patalesvara temple and some of the Pancalingesvara shrines date back to the tenth century, while the Maralesvara temple is an early Chola structure (Krishna 1932, 14–15). The grants to Jaina shrines were entrusted to Jaina monks, indicating the presence of Jaina monastic establishments. There is no hard evidence to suggest that Tarakad was a commercial centre save for the terms mahānagara and paṭṭaṇa, occurring in the tenth-century record cited above. If, then, an urban centre can be described, in concordance with Erdosy, as an administrative node garnering resources from the countryside, Tarakad or Talavana-nagara would qualify as one. However, if trade and manufacture are emphasised as a yardstick then Tarakad's status would be unclear, although the presence of the Mahānagara guild and the official, paṭṭaṇavasantara, would tend to support its identification as an urban centre.

Manne (Nelmangala taluk, Bangalore district) was another settlement that developed into a royal centre in the eighth and ninth centuries. The Javali plates (Mudgere taluk, Chikmagalur district) of AD 750–51, which record the grant of Belpur village, are one of the earliest inscriptions to mention Manne, here described as a grāma. It was the site of a vijaya skandhāvāra, where the king was resident at the time of the grant (Rice 1901, 6: Mg 36). However, the Kondajji agrahara plates, which are tentatively dated as belonging to the seventh year of the reign of Shripurusha Ganga (AD 732–33), assign Manne an urban status by referring to it as Manyapura. Once again, it is referred to as the site of a royal camp (Krishna 1938, Gb 75). Assuming that the grant was genuine, it would have to be concluded that Manne was on the threshold of urbanisation in the mid eighth century.

All later references to Manne are unanimous in assigning it the status of a town. It was probably a favourite royal residence in the eighth century. Thus, the Hosur plates (Gauribidanur taluk, Kolar district) of AD 762–63 were also issued from the vijaya

period. Kanchi owed its mānagara status to state sponsorship (Champakalakshmi 1986a, 45).

skandhāvāra situated at Manya-nagara (Ramesh 1984, 165–73 no. 45). While all references to Manne so far have mentioned it merely as the site of a royal camp, the Manne plates (Nelamangala taluk, Bangalore district) of Yuvarāja Marasimha, dated AD 798, indicate that it was developing into a religious centre as well. This charter records the construction of a Jaina shrine at Manya-nagara by the *Sāmanta Sēnādhipati* Shrivijaya, and the grant of: (i) Kiruvakkur village in Manya viṣaya; (ii) three khaṇḍugas of paddy fields under the tank of Perjjadi; (iii) three khaṇḍugas of paddy fields under the tank of Balamangala; (iv) one garden under the tank of the inhabitants of Manne [?] (manneyalar); and (v) six khaṇḍugas each under the Seregere and Keregere tanks (Rice 1905, 9: Nl 60).

Like Tarakad, Manne, too, was acquiring control over the rural hinterland through the temples situated within its precincts. Also significant is the reference to the tank of the Manneyalar. Could this refer to the corporate body of its inhabitants? There is no clear evidence to support this, but it is probable. If so, it would bear out Gunawardana's findings on the involvement of citizens in irrigation development.

Manne's continuing status as a royal residence is brought out by the Kottimba grant charter (Sidlaghatta taluk, Kolar district), which records the grant of Kottimba grāma in Manya viṣaya, Alur with its hamlet Vaydeut in Kuruvale viṣaya and of some lands below the tank of Paruvi in Paruvi viṣaya as a brahmadēya by Yuvarāja Marasimha while he was residing at Manyapura (Ramesh 1984, 206–16 no. 50). It was apparently the administrative centre of Manya viṣaya or Manne nāḍu-300. This unit is not only mentioned in the Kottimba grant charter but also in the Manne plates (Nelamangala taluk, Bangalore district) of Rachamalla I Ganga of AD 828, which records the grant of Doddavadi village as a dēvabhōga for the goddess Kiltabaleretti Bhatari at Doddavadi in Manya viṣaya (Settar 1976, 3: 32–34 no. 4). The Mudlupalya inscription (Magadi taluk, Bangalore district) of AD 968, also mentions Manne nāḍu-300. The Nāḷgāvuṇḍa of this unit, Gangagacca, set up a temple, Dadigeshvara, in honour of his son Dadiga, who died in an attack on the village. Some lands were also granted for the temple. Neither the location of the shrine nor the village to which Dadiga belonged is specified (Rice 1905, 9: Ma 75).

The epigraphs mentioning Manya viṣaya or Manne nāḍu-300 do not mention Manne or Manyapura itself. The last available epigraphic reference to Manne comes from the Chikka Sarangi inscription (Tumkur taluk, Tumkur district) of AD 903. This epigraph seems to indicate that Manne was now under the control of the Rashtrakutas, since Krishna II Rashtrakuta's subordinate *Pracaṇḍa Daṇḍanāyaka* Shri Damapaiya was stationed at Manne as the daṇḍanāyaka for the entire south *(tenkaṇa diśāvarkk ellā daṇḍanāyakanāgi Maṇṇeyoḷ ire)* (Nilakanta Sastri 1958, Tm 78). While the Chikka Sarangi inscription appears to attest to the continuing political importance of Manne, its urban character is still not clearly indicated in it.

Manne, then, emerged as an urban centre in the mid eighth century as a result of the continuing presence there of the royal residence. Although essentially the centre of a politico-geographical unit, there is evidence of the existence of temples by the end of the eighth century. Apart from these characteristics and the use of the suffix pura, however, there is nothing to indicate its urban character. Even the use of the suffix pura appears to have been discontinued after the ninth century, leaving the character of Manne even more uncertain.

Situated on the right bank of a tributary of the Vedavati River, Asandi was the central settlement of Asandi nāḍu from the eighth century onwards (see Appendix I). An eighth-century inscription from Asandi records that the nāḍu was being ruled by Vijayaditya, a son of Shripurusha Ganga, while his servant (āḷ), Eramma ruled Asandi from Channavur. Eramma set up a twining fence *(orvaḷḷa ney niṛisida)* around Asandi at the request of the Fifty-two *(Ayvadimbar)*, the *Nakara* (Nagara) and the *Śēṇi* (Śrēṇi [?]) (Rice 1901, 6: Kd 145). Like Tarakad, Asandi had two corporate bodies—the Fifty-two and the Nakara. In addition, the presence of a guild, Śrēṇi is also attested to. The term Nakara possibly indicates that Asandi served as the marketing centre of the nāḍu, as suggested by Hall for similar organisations in Tamil Nadu (Hall 1980, 87ff).

By the tenth century, Asandi appears to have developed into a religious centre as well. A tenth-century tomb *(niṣidhi)* record from Siddaganahalli (a neighbouring village) records the death at Asandi's mūlasthāna basadi of a Jaina nun of the Navilur Saṇgha by the adoption of a ritual vow (Rice 1901, 6: Kd 159).

The pitfalls of the evidence provided by terminological suffixes is indicated by inscriptions from Vijayapura (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district). A ninth-century record registers the payment of some gold *(pon)* for the legal settlement of certain tenants (okkal). The gold was given to the Twelve (pannirvaru) of Kirupel-nagara (modern Vijayapura). Apart from the settlement for the tenants, the inscription records the grant of twenty-five khaṇḍugas of land and the sluice of a tank *(dharma tūmbu)* (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 145). In spite of the cash transaction, the presence of a corporate body and the suffix nagara, there is an impression that the settlement was chiefly agricultural. It is possible that the nagara suffix indicates the presence of a marketing centre. It is also possible that the nagara formed an enclave within the predominantly agrarian area, as was the case with Manalur and its suburb Nigarili-Solapuram in the Chola period (Rice 1905, 9: Cp 128, 131, 132).

An early eleventh-century inscription from Kirupel-nagara refers to the houses of gāvuṇḍas and pergaḍes as well as to a land grant for developing a flower garden (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 142). Referring back to the descriptions of urban centres in literary works, the details available from this record do not preclude the urban status of Kirupel-nagara.

An inscription from Kumasi (Shimoga taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 950 refers to Kombasi poḷal. Poḷal is a term for town most often used in the literary works of that period. The inscription records the construction of a Jaina temple *(jinagēha)* by Lokkiyabbe of Pombuccha at Kombasi poḷal. It also registers several grants by headmen *(gauḍa)* and śeṭṭis for the bathing of the idol in sanctified liquids *(jinābhiṣēka)*, and for camphor *(ghānavanna* [?]*)* and a conch-shell *(kambuka* [?]*)* (Rice 1902, 7: Sh 114). From these details it would appear that Kombasi was a commercial and religious centre.

A royal centre, Rajapolala, situated in Magali nāḍu, is mentioned in an inscription from Arani (Nagamangala taluk, Mandya district) of AD 972 as the residence of the Ganga king *Noḷambakulāntaka* Marasimha II (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ng 99). No further details of the town are available.

Another royal residence is mentioned in the Baragur inscription (Sira taluk, Tumkur district) of AD 878, which records that Mahendradhiraja of the Nolamba lineage had encamped *(bīḍu*

biṭṭalli) at Baragur (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Bīḍu*). Being a staunch Shaiva *(parama māyēśvara)*, he offered his own palace *(tanna aramaneyane nivedisi)* at Baragur for the establishment of a Shiva temple, named Mahendreshvara after him (Rice 1904, 12: Si 38). While the phrase bīḍu biṭṭalli used in the inscription would imply that the Nolamba's presence there was temporary, the existence of a palace would indicate a greater length of stay. The inscription goes on to record the grant of Nandur in Sire nāḍu for the maintenance and conduct of worship at the temple. The grant was entrusted to Dinakara Soma Bhatara of Gauha gōtra. All this would indicate that Baragur, initially a royal centre, was being transformed into a religious hub with a temple and monastic complex. An inscription from Hemavati (Sira taluk, Tumkur district) of the same period refers once more to Baragur as the site of a royal encampment, and goes on to state that Baragur was the fief of Mahendradhiraja's queen, Bija(ya) *Mahādevi*. Some land at Baragur were granted to a shrine, possibly a basadi, whose location is not specified (Rice 1904, 12: Si 24).

A third inscription from Baragur again stresses its character as a religious centre. This record, dated AD 919, registers grants for two temples at the mūlasthāna of Baragur, which were entrusted to Vimalamati Bhatara of the eastern *(mūḍana)* monastery *(maṭha)*. The grants consisted of thirty koḷagas of wet land below the Piriyakere tank and the temple (dēgula) at Baragur itself. There is also a reference to Multadakere tank in the southwestern part of Baragur, which was constructed by Naranabbe, the mother of queen Nagiyabbe (Rice 1904, 12: Si 39).

Available evidence, then, indicates that Baragur was developing into a religious centre of some importance by the tenth century, while possibly continuing to be the site of a palace complex as well. The tenth-century inscription from Baragur shows that irrigation works and cultivable lands existed within the bounds of the settlement. There is no evidence whatsoever of the presence of mercantile or artisanal groups, however, and its urban character is therefore in doubt.

The growth of trade and commerce in the Chola period led to the emergence of new urban centres. Mayilangai (Tadimalingi) (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) is a case in point. A record from the reign of Rajaraja I Chola indicates its rural character in the registering of the sale of dry and wet lands in the village by

the local gāvuṇḍas for the temple of Iravikula-māṇikka-viṇṇagar-āḷvār situated there (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 230). By the fourth regnal year of Rajendra I Chola, Mayilangai was designated Jananathapuram. An inscription of that year (AD 1015–16) registers the gift of two gold coins *(māḍai)* (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Māḍai*) for the celebration of a festival for the same deity (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 233). The cash grant was entrusted to the members of the Nagara assembly *(Nagarattār)* of Jananathapuram, who undertook to supply three *piḍi*s (handfuls [?]) (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Pidi* [3]) of oil daily for the temple. A similar grant is registered in another inscription from Rajendra I Chola's tenth regnal year. A gift of ten kaḻañjus of gold was entrusted to the Nagarattār, who, out of the interest on the gold, were to supply paddy daily to the person tending the flower garden of the temple (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 229). Cash transactions had become common even earlier, as the Tarakad and Vijayapura records testify. Even the Tadimalingi inscription of Rajaraja I Chola records the sale of lands worth a hundred kaḻañjus of gold. With the emergence of the Nagara of Jananathapuram, the Nagarattār appear to have replaced the gāvuṇḍas as the pivot of the local society and its economy.

The factors promoting the transformation of Mayilangai into an urban centre are not clear. It is possible that the temple and its cult requirements provided one of the catalysts for this transformation. The role of the temple in promoting trade is suggested by the Suttur inscription of AD 1032 (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 215). Suttur or Shrotriyur (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) was a brahmadēya settlement. The inscription in question records the establishment of the temples of Ishana Ishvaram-uḍaiyar and Mūlasthāna Uḍaiyar, the latter commissioned by Gundabbe, wife of Marayya Śeṭṭi of Shrotriyur. Several grants of land and levies of grain and cotton on the tenants (okkal) were made by the local merchants, among others, to these temples as well as to the shrine of Shrotriyuravve. One of these donors was a flower merchant *(pūvina śeṭṭi)* of the maṭha to the east of Ishana Ishvaram-uḍaiyar. It is possible that he supplied flowers *(pu)* for the temple and maṭha. In addition to the local merchants, the *Samaya* (assembly—here of a group of merchants [?]) including the members of the Nanadesi guild

invested wealth *(dhana)* in wet lands, gardens *(aṟeve* [?]*)* and oil for a perpetual lamp.

The details of the grants place Shrotriyur clearly in the rural category. However, references to merchants, both local and supralocal, would indicate that Shrotriyur was part of a network of trade and commerce, probably owing to the temples and monastic institutions situated there. Taken all in all, Shrotriyur was evidently on the threshold of urbanisation in this period.

Thus, epigraphic sources indicate a partial urbanisation of many places in the period under review. Banavasi was probably an urban centre throughout the period—a survivor of the early historic era. Other centres such as Asandi and Talavana-nagara show a slow development, political and religious factors rather than commercial probably account for their growth. The growth of trade seems to have accelerated the emergence of urban centres from the tenth century onwards. The conquest of the region by the Cholas in particular drew the region into the supralocal trade network and consequent urbanisation.

Since inscriptions provide no clues as to the physical form of the urban centres, literary descriptions may be resorted to for this information. Fortifications are attested to in only two cases—Banavasi and Asandi. Temples and houses are mentioned in most cases, but no clear street plan emerges. The pre-eminence of Banavasi is suggested by several references in inscriptions to rulers as the "excellent lords of the city" *(puravarēśvara)*. Kolala was apparently the town par excellence of the Ganga kingdom, since the Ganga kings are repeatedly referred to as Kuvalālapuravarēśvara. Similarly Manalera is styled *Vālabhīpuravarēśvara* in the Atakur inscription (Maddur taluk, Mandya district) of AD 949–50 (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Mu 42), while Machiya-arasa was Trikundapura-varēśvara, a title of the scions of the Matura vaṁśa (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 476). This may perhaps be in keeping with the standard references to the nāḍu and the city in the *Vaḍḍārādhane*. The capital city was the domain of the ruler, the centre of the realm.

Thus, literary works and epigraphic references may be considered complementary in some respects. The overall picture they present is of the urban centre as the administrative hub of the kingdom, which gradually developed with growing trade and commerce into a centre of trade. Manufacturing and artisanal

activity is neglected by both these sources. References to artisans occur chiefly in rural contexts. Temples and monasteries were, in addition to administration and trade, factors of importance in the growth of urban centres.

Epigraphic evidence particularly also stresses the rural-urban continuum. The majority of the urban centres discussed above were scarcely distinguishable from rural settlements. Their urban character is to be discerned from the use of the terminological suffixes pura, nagara or poḷal, which is scarcely conclusive. Their ability to attract the agricultural surplus from the hinterland due to the presence of temples and royalty, on a more durable basis than that occasioned by the victory camps, was the other major determinant of their urban character. In some cases, as with Banavasi in the early period or with Asandi in the eighth century, there are references to the corporate body of the nagara, which makes it very likely that these were commercial centres as well. This latter trend strengthened with the growth of trade in the early eleventh century under the Cholas. But, as with Nigarili-Solapuram in Manalur, they may have been urban enclaves or suburbs in a flourishing rural settlement. Thus, in this region, as in early medieval Europe, the majority of the urban centres were scarcely more than rural market towns or royal camps in the period under study, as is evident from the fact that references to nagara corporate bodies are not supported by any mention of market areas *(hāṭṭa/aṅgaḍi)* or of manufacturing centres within the settlement space.

Chapter II

POLITICAL SCENARIO

The Emergence of the Gangas: The First Phase (c. AD 350–725)

The earliest Ganga inscriptions are datable on palaeographic grounds to the close of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century AD.[1] The majority of these early records were recovered from the modern districts of Anantapur (in Andhra Pradesh), Kolar, Bangalore and Tumkur. Toponymy would indicate that most of them relate to the area of their provenance.

The origins of the Gangas are obscure. Their early inscriptions merely state that they belonged to the Kanvayana lineage (gōtra) and Jahnaveya race (kula), following the example of contemporary neighbouring dynasties such as the Pallavas (Bharadvaja gōtra); the Brihatpalayanas and Shalankayanas (Ananda gōtra); and the Cutukulananda Satakarnis, the Kadambas and early Chalukyas (Manavya gōtra, with the dynastic epithet Haritiputra) (Trautmann 1981, 373). However, some lithic inscriptions from the Shimoga and Nagar taluks of Shimoga district (Rice 1902, 7: Sh 4, 64; 1904, 8: Nr 35), dating from the twelfth century and issued by the cognatic descendants of the Gangas, provide lengthy legendary accounts of their origins and rise to power. They trace the descent of the Gangas from the Ikshvakus of Ayodhya, and ascribe the dynastic name of Ganga to the propitiation of the goddess Ganga by one of the rulers of the lineage for progeny. The migration to the south is attributed to the invasion of the kingdom by a neighbouring monarch. The two emigrant princes, Dadiga and Madhava, met the Jaina preceptor *(ācārya)* Simhanandi at Perur, who propitiated the goddess Padmavati on their behalf and gave them a throne and a kingdom.

[1] I depend here on the palaeographic dating suggested by K.V. Ramesh 1984. The chronology of the Gangas is a vexed issue, with different scholars hazarding diverse views on the subject.

The fact that the early Ganga records are themselves silent on the subject of the descent from the Ikshvakus and the migration from northern India makes this account untrustworthy. Ācārya Simhanandi and his role in the foundation of the kingdom is only mentioned in some eighth-century records registering Jaina benefactions.[2] It seems probable that the account was initiated and propagated by the Jainas, thereby gaining for their establishment the generous patronage of the later Gangas, while the lineage itself thus received legitimacy and support. However, the early Ganga rulers appear to have been staunch champions of Vedic brahmanism.

Various hypotheses have been put forward regarding the origins of the Gangas. Rice linked them with the short-lived Kanva dynasty of Magadha (Rice 1909, 10) while M. V. Krishna Rao had suggested that they were related to the Ikshvakus of Nagarjunakonda (Krishna Rao 1936, 15). Rice's view was based on dates provided by such spurious records as the Kudlapura inscription (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 322), the Kudlur plates (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) of Harivarman Ganga (Ramesh 1984, 10–14 no. 4) and the Tanjore plates (Thanjavur taluk, Tiruchirapalli district) of the same monarch (Fleet 1879, 212). The discovery of other early, authentic records, however, have placed the epoch of the dynasty at the close of the fourth century. There is thus a yawning gap of four centuries between the *Śungabhṛtya* Kanva kings who ruled in the second half of the first century BC (Majumdar 1977, 175–76) and the Gangas, making such a link between them improbable. Moreover, as stated earlier, the Gangas were merely following the example of the other established dynasties in claiming a gōtra affiliation. Krishna Rao's suggestion can also be dismissed, since early Ganga records do not adduce any evidence of Ikshvaku connections. However, it is possible that the influence of the neighbouring states such as the Ikshvakus of Nagarjunakonda might have affected state formation in southern Karnataka at a general level.

[2] See Gopal et al. 1975 4: Ch 347, *"sramaṇācārya sādhitaḥ svakhadgaika ...rākrama yaśasaḥ"*; and Ramesh 1984, 411–32 no. 138 of the tenth century, wherein ll. 11–13 mention Simhanandi crowning Konganivarman with *karnikara* blossoms after he had broken the stone pillar.

A. R. Baji (1952, 181–91; 1954, 123ff) and M. Arokia-swamy (1956, 104ff) accept the account of the Shimoga record *in toto* and suggest that the earliest southern base of Dadiga and Madhava was the Kongu region, from which they spread out to Kolar and Paruvi (Anantapur district). They identify Perur, the place where the princes met Ācārya Simhanandi, with Perur in Coimbatore district. While Kongu was undeniably an early Ganga possession, and a record from Perur itself reinforces this (Ramesh 1984, 479–82 no. 155),[3] it is difficult to accept the Shimoga records in the unqualified fashion of Baji and Arokiaswamy. That they support their arguments with the testimony of the *Kongudēśarājakkal*, a late-seventeenth century chronicle, does not further their cause. These late sources do not quite concur with the evidence presented by the early-Ganga copper-plates, which do not indicate that they were immigrants in the area. It is more likely that they were of local origin, as B. Sheik Ali holds, although he supports this only on the basis of constructive reasoning (Sheik Ali 1976, 13).

A glance at the prehistoric record of southern Karnataka explicates this problem to some extent. This region appears to have been settled on a large scale only in the Megalithic phase, which is represented in 258 sites, as opposed to 32 Neolithic sites and only a handful of locations betraying traces of Palaeolithic and Mesolithic cultures.[4] The beginnings of the iron-using Megalithic cultures date to c. 1000 BC (Ghosh 1989, 1: 126). Significantly, the largest number of Megalithic sites has been reported for Kolar district (120) and Mysore district (110). The earliest centres of Ganga power were situated precisely in these areas. Kolar itself has traces of Megalithic occupation and its gold mines were worked in this period (Ghosh 1989, 2: q.v. *Kolar*). Similarly, Talakad, the early centre of the Gangas, is situated close to T. Narsipur and Hemmige.

This profusion of Megalithic sites perhaps reflects a demographic expansion as a result of migration to fertile areas and the adoption of a primarily agrarian economy, as opposed to the

[3] The Melekote plates of Madhavavarman (Talakad branch) also relate to a Peruradhisthana, which may possibly be the same as the Kongu Perur (Ramesh 1984, 37–39 no.11).

[4] Details of the explored sites are drawn from Ghosh 1989, vol. 2.

pastoral economy supplemented by swidden cultivation which was characteristic of the Neolithic phase (Senevirathne 1980–81, 55–56; Sahu 1988, 196; Paddayya 1979, 349).

However, burial sites far outnumber habitation sites in the Eastern division of the region comprising of the Kolar, Bangalore and Tumkur districts, which would indicate, following L. S. Leshnik, the predominance of pastoralism in the economy (Leshnik 1974, 274). This is further supported by the fact that more than fifty per cent of the land in this region is covered by shrub vegetation and supports large herds of cattle, buffaloes, sheep and goats even today. However, agriculture, particularly paddy cultivation, is also attested to: one of the sarcophagi at Jadigenahalli (Hoskote taluk, Bangalore district) was cushioned in a deposit of rice husk 30 cm thick (Ghosh 1989, 2: q.v. *Jadigenahalli*). A pastoral-cum-subsistence-agriculture economy is thus indicated for this region.

The Western division, however, comprising of the Mysore, Mandya, Coorg, Chikmagalur, Hassan and Shimoga districts, has a larger number of habitation sites. The majority of these sites are situated in the Kaveri valley, in place such as T. Narsipur, Doddahomma, Hedathale, Kaveripuram and Suttur (Ghosh 1989, vol. 2). Apart from agriculture and stockbreeding, considerable artisanal activity can also be discerned: excavations at the Megalithic level in T. Narsipur have yielded substantial quantities of finely produced Black and Red Ware (BRW). Beads of terracotta and semi-precious stones, glass bangles and a few iron implements have also been recovered (Seshadri 1971, 8). Iron slag at Kendatti (Kolar taluk, Kolar district) would indicate smelting activity (Ghosh 1989, 2: q.v. *Kendatti*), while the gold mines at the Champion Reefs in Kolar have yielded BRW and Pale Grey Ware (Ghosh 1989, 2: q.v. *Kolar*), indicating that the mines were worked from the Neolithic period onwards. This is further supported by the occurrence of a gold bead at the Neolithic level of a dig at T. Narsipur (Seshadri 1971, 7). In the absence of extensive excavations, it is unclear whether the gold mined here was used locally or siphoned off in trade or as tribute to the Magadhan state, as northern Karnataka was made to do (Allchin and Allchin 1983, 337–39; Thapar 1987, 13).

The similarity of the types of iron tools throughout the region from Vidarbha to Adichanallur in Tamil Nadu, where Megalithic cultural artefacts have been found, led F. R. Allchin and B. R. Allchin to posit the diffusion of a tightly knit group of ironsmiths (Allchin and Allchin 1983, 335). H. P. Ray suggests that these iron workers were possibly itinerant groups, and cites several instances of travelling craftsmen servicing a particular area. She further opines that goldsmiths, bead-makers and potters were similarly organised in itinerant groups (Ray 1986, 170–71), although in the case of pottery, local traditions survived side by side with the characteristic Megalithic fare—the BRW.

It is possible to conclude on the basis of Sangam texts that production activity was kinship-based, with the nuclear household *(kuḍi)* as the basic unit of production (Gurukkal 1989, 10). These kinship units probably supported conical clan chiefdoms similar to those of the Vēḷir chiefs in the peripheral areas of Tamil Nadu.[5]

The early historic phase in southern Karnataka does not appear to have been markedly different from the preceding Megalithic culture. The Magadhan state apparently did not control this region. Hemmige is the only early historic site to have been excavated, and in the opinion of its excavators it was an isolated rural settlement. No structural remains were found, with the exception of a burnt-brick piece and a few iron nails. The Megalithic BRW was the major ceramic industry, together with red-slipped, red-polished and black-slipped pottery. Arretine and rouletted pottery of Roman origin are conspicuous by their absence. Some artisanal activity is attested to by the presence of bangle pieces, of shell, glass and bone, biconic and hexagonal beads and quadrooned beads of glass, soapstone, shell and terracotta (Nagaraju and Rao 1974, 74). However, these artefacts are not as numerous as in sites in northern and coastal Karnataka such as Vadgaon Madhavpur (Belgaum taluk, Belgaum district), Sannathi (Chitapur taluk, Gulbarga district), Maski (Hiriyur

[5] The ecology and economy of southern Karnataka in the Megalithic phase appear similar to that of the Kongu–Nilgiri region of Tamil Nadu.

taluk, Chitradurga district), Chandravalli (Davanagere taluk, Chitradurga district) and Udyavara (Udupi taluk, Udupi district), which all appear to have been urban centres (Ghosh 1989, 1: 150). The iron objects found at Hemmige include a chisel; a small spear or arrowhead; a small flat knife, a curved knife and a dagger; a bar; a rod; and a ring (Ghosh 1989, 2: q.v. *Hemmige*). The predominance of offensive weapons in the assemblage apparently indicates the persistence of the Megalithic political order, which was characterised by frequent predatory raids by chiefs on neighbouring settlements to muster a surplus (Gurukkal 1989, 18). This view is further supported by the presence of sling balls of the early historic phase at Hunugund (Bangarpet taluk, Kolar district) (Ghosh 1989, 2: q.v. *Hunugund*). Several other early historic sites can be so distinguished only by the presence of Russet-coated Painted Ware characteristic of this phase (Ghosh 1989, 1: 150); for lack of further evidence, it can be concluded that they seem to resemble Hemmige as isolated rural settlements. The majority of these sites are situated in the Kaveri valley.[6]

However, the region was not entirely insulated from outside influence. A hoard of Roman silver coins has been found at Bangalore, indicating some involvement in long-distance trade (Ghosh 1989, 2: q.v. *Bangalore*). This surmise is supported by the fact that the gold mined at Kolar is rarely found in the assemblages of the region, which would point to it being drawn into trade. Malavalli, Balligave and Talagunda in Shimoga district are major early historic sites, and were possibly included in the dominions of the Cutukulananda Satakarnis.[7]

Available evidence, then, would indicate that southern Karnataka in the early historic phase enjoyed limited contacts with neighbouring states in northern Karnataka and the proto-states in Tamil Nadu. Its polity and economy appear broadly similar to that descriptive of the Megalithic phase.

[6] Some of these Kaveri valley sites are Ambala, Ballur, Devarahalli, Gowdarahalli, Honnur, Huttu, Nallur and P. G. Palya (Ghosh 1989, vol. 2).

[7] Rice 1902, 7: Sk 176 of the close of the fourth century refers to the Mahadeva temple of Sthanagundur being patronised by the Satakarnis.

It is from this background that the Gangas emerge in this region as the earliest accredited royal dynasty. They were probably one of its chiefly clans in origin. They adopted all the trappings and insignia of royalty—a gōtra and kula affiliation and the patronage of Vedic Brahmanism as well as the heterodox sects, particularly Jainism, to legitimise their new-found authority. Their royal court and method of administration were modelled on those of their southern and northern neighbours.

The tribal origins of the Kadambas, their contemporaries, are attested to by the Talagunda pillar inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district), which states that the Kadambas acquired their name by tending a beautiful tree with *kadamba* flowers that grew near the residence of Mayura Sharman, their progenitor (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 176). As R. N. Nandi points out, the tending of the totem tree and the naming of the clan after it are characteristic features of a tribal people (Nandi 1987, 110). Mayura Sharman is then said to have raided the outlying territories of the Pallavas and occupied the forest tracts up to Shriparvata. The Pallavas, unable to subdue them, enlisted them as feudatories and established them in a principality of their own.

Emerging possibly from a similar background, the Gangas rose to be a sub-regional power of considerable importance and outlasted the Kadambas.

There has been much debate on the earliest nucleus of the Ganga kingdom, but on the basis of available records it is reasonable to presume that Kolar was their first base. This is further supported by the fact that lithic inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries refer to the Gangas as Kuvaḷālapuravarēśvara and *Nandagirināṭha*, at a time when the locus of Ganga power had shifted westwards to the Kaveri valley. Moreover, epigraphs of the eighth century from Kolar and Bangalore districts mention the unit of Ganga-6,000, which apparently included areas from which the earliest and largest number of Ganga records of the first phase have been recovered (Appendix I). This would lend credence to the belief that Kolar and its adjacent districts constituted the earliest nucleus of the Ganga kingdom. By the close of the reign of Madhavavarman I, purportedly the second ruler of the dynasty, they also controlled Paruvi viṣaya (the political unit centred on Parigi in Hindupur taluk, Anantapur district) (Ramesh 1984, 1–3 no. 1) and Kulungijya rājya (possibly

located in Kunigal taluk, Tumkur district)[8] in addition to their original base in Kolar. Neither Konganivarman nor Madhavavarman appear to have been subordinate to an external power; indeed, the Sasanakota plates (Hindupur taluk, Anantapur district, Andhra Pradesh) state that Konganivarman had established the kingdom by strength of arms *(svabhuja java jaya janita sujanajanapadasya)* (Ramesh 1984, 4–6 no. 2, l. 3). The testimony of eulogies (praśasti) must nevertheless be accepted with caution as there are references to at least two successors of Konganivarman to whom similar eulogistic phrases are applied.[9] However, in the absence of evidence to the contrary it can be accepted that Konganivarman carved out a principality for himself in this region without external aid. Baji is of the opinion that the Gangas established their control over southern Karnataka as the subordinate allies of the Pallavas (Baji 1954, 126) but the available records of Madhavavarman I do not indicate that he was a feudatory.

There is evidence of the existence of more than one branch of the dynasty after Madhavavarman I. This issue of collateral branches, like almost every other aspect of early Ganga history, is a subject of considerable debate. It was G. Joveau-Dubreuil who first suggested, on the basis of the Bendiganahalli (Hoskote taluk, Bangalore district) and Penukonda plates (Hindupur taluk, Anantapur district, Andhra Pradesh) (Ramesh 1984, 15–18 no. 5; 1984, 27–29 no. 8), that two dynasties of the Gangas existed in this period—the Gangas of Talakad, and those of Paruvi. The Talakad branch included Harivarman, Vishnugopa and Madhavavarman II, while Madhava Simhavarman and his son Vijaya Krishnavarman belonged, in Joveau-Dubreuil's opinion, to the Paruvi branch (Joveau-Dubreuil 1917, 105). The discovery of other records of Vijaya Krishnavarman and Simhavarman make it clear that Joveau-Dubreuil was mistaken in his belief that Vijaya Krishnavarman was the son of Simhavarman. It was, as S. Shrikantha Sastri has pointed out, the other way round (Shrikantha Sastri 1952, 12).

[8] Ramesh 1984, 4–6 no. 2. The identification of Kulungijya rājya with Kunigal is tentative.

[9] Madhava Simhavarman of the Paruvi branch in the Penukonda plates (Ramesh 1984, 27–29 no. 8, l. 9) and Madhavavarman II of the Talakad branch in the Nonamangala plates (Ramesh 1984, 34–36 no. 10, l. 14).

Map 1 Major Politico-geographical Units in Southern Karnataka AD 400–725

The discovery of the Chukuttur grant charter (Sidlaghatta taluk, Kolar district) in 1924 prompted R. Shama Sastri to suggest that a third branch of the dynasty, the Kaivara, had also existed independently of the Talakad and Paruvi Gangas (Shama Sastri 1924, 17). In his opinion, Vijaya Krishnavarman and his sons Simhavarman and Viravarman belonged to the Kaivara branch, while Aryavarman and Madhava Simhavarman, who were mentioned in the Penukonda plates (Ramesh 1984, 30–33 no. 9), belonged to the Paruvi branch.

Krishna Rao has opposed the views of both Joveau-Dubreuil and Shama Sastri. He points out that Harivarman is called Arivarman in his Tanjore plates (Fleet 1879, 212) and that Ayyavarman, the name of the father of Madhava Simhavarman of the Penukonda plates, is merely the tadbhava form of Arivarman. Moreover, Simhavarman is endowed with the "qualities of his father and grand father" *(pitṛpaitāmahaguṇa sampanna)* in both the Chukuttur and Penukonda plates (Krishna Rao 1936, 57). (However, eulogies abound in such cliches. Similar hagiographic phrases have been applied to Madhavavarman II of the Talakad branch as well (Ramesh 1984, 34–36 no. 10), without anyone identifying him thereby with Madhavavarman II of the Paruvi branch or with Simhavarman of the Kaivara branch.

The views of Joveau-Dubreuil and Shama Sastri are also opposed by R. S. Panchamukhi and N. L. Rao. They stress the fact that the sons of both Aryavarman and Vijaya Krishnavarman were called Simhavarman, and repeat the point made by Krishna Rao that Ayyavarman is the tadbhava form of Arivarman. Finally, they are of the opinion that Vishnugopa, the son of Harivarman in all subsequent Ganga records, was the younger brother of Madhava Simhavarman (Panchamukhi and Rao 1946, 119–20).

T. V. Mahalingam does not deal directly with the question of branches. However, in his article on the relations of Pallava Simhavarman with the Karnataka country, he suggests that Ayyavarman named his children after Pallava Simhavarman, his siblings and forefathers (Mahalingam 1976, 127).

Ramesh, too, holds that the dynasty did not branch off, though he does point out that the fact that Vishnugopa is always said to be the son of Harivarman and not of Aryavarman or Vijaya Krishnavarman throws doubt on the single-line theory. Moreover, he holds that the Kutalur plates (Gubbi taluk, Tumkur district)

describe Aryavarman as the eldest son of Madhavarman I, thereby suggesting that he had other brothers (Ramesh 1984, lv). However, the word in the inscription is *aurasa putra* (Ramesh 1984, 30–33 no. 9, l. 5), which does not mean eldest son but merely, born of the lawfully wedded wife.

Sheik Ali holds that the dynasty branched off into three separate lines, but he adds to the prevailing confusion by ascribing the Penukonda and Bendiganahalli plates first to Harivarman of the Talakad branch (Sheik Ali 1976, 44–46) and then to Madhavavarman and Vijaya Krishnavarman of the Paruvi branch (1976, 46). The confusion is further compounded when he states, in the course of the same paragraph, first that Vijaya Krishnavarman was the son of Madhavavarman, the younger brother of Harivarman, and then that he was the younger brother of Harivarman!

In conclusion, it appears that the Talakad branch did have a distinct identity of its own. Ramesh's remark concerning the consistency of their genealogical account may be recollected in this regard. Moreover, the Talakad Gangas seem to have established their sway over the Western division of the region. As noted earlier, Harivarman, the progenitor of the Talakad branch, was the earliest Ganga ruler to be associated with Talavanapura (Talakad), from which all his extant records, albeit spurious, have been issued (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 262; Narasimhacharya 1921, 7; Fleet 1879, 212).

The Gangas of Paruvi and Kaivara are less easy to distinguish. As Panchamukhi and Rao point out, the sons of both Aryavarman of the Paruvi branch and Vijaya Krishnavarman of the Kaivara branch are named Simhavarman. Moreover, both lineages, if indeed they were disinct from each other, were based in the Eastern division. While the Bendiganahalli plates (Hoskote taluk, Bangalore district) of Vijaya Krishnavarman indicate that he held sway over Paruvi nāḍu (Ramesh 1984, 15–18 no. 5), the Penukonda plates (Hindupur taluk, Anantapur district, Andhra Pradesh) attest to the control of Madhava Simhavarman over the same division (1984, 27–29 no. 8). Other records afford evidence for Kaivara Ganga sway over Kaivara viṣaya (Hosakote taluk, Bangalore district) (Ramesh 1984, 23–26 no. 7),[10] Kuvalala viṣaya (Kolar

[10] The location of Kaivara viṣaya in Hosakote taluk has been tentatively suggested on the basis of later lithic records mentioning this unit. See Appendix I, nos. 35–39.

and its neighbourhood) (Ramesh 1984, 483–86 no. 156) and Perura viṣaya (the Kongu region [?]).[11] The Paruvi Gangas on the other hand seem to have controlled Marukara viṣaya (Tumkur, Tiptur and Sira taluks of Tumkur district and the Dodda-Ballapura taluk of Bangalore district) (Ramesh 1984, 30–33 no. 9; Krishna 1930, 259–65) apart from Paruvi viṣaya.

The major factor supporting Shama Sastri's view that the Paruvi and Kaivara branches were two distinct entities is the fact that the Penukonda and Kutalur plates (Ramesh 1984, 27–29 no. 8; 1984, 30–33 no. 9) of Madhava Simhavarman of the Paruvi branch state that Aryavarman and his son Madhava Simhavarman were anointed by the Pallava monarchs Simhavarman and Skandavarman respectively. None of the Kaivara Ganga records, on the other hand, betray the slightest sign of subordinate status. There is, of course, the possibility that Simhavarman and his younger brother, Viravarman, were named after Pallava Simhavarman and his grandfather Viravarman, as suggested by Mahalingam. But if Simhavarman of the Kaivara branch and Madhava Simhavarman of the Paruvi branch were, in fact, the same, it is unclear why the monarch should admit his feudatory status so unambiguously in one set of records and remain silent on the issue in others. When this discrepancy is coupled with differing accounts of parentage, the conclusion that the two branches were distinct and separate becomes almost compelling. If this is accepted then it becomes clear that neither branch had a stable, territorial base; the Kaivara Gangas seem to have been supplanted in Paruvi viṣaya by the rival branch of the Paruvi Gangas.

There is no further evidence of the existence of these two collateral branches of Kaivara and Paruvi Gangas after the reigns of Madhava Simhavarman and his namesake. Both were displaced by Madhavavarman II of the Talakad branch. The Chaluvanahalli plates (Kolar taluk, Kolar district) of this monarch, issued in the

[11] The Perur plates (Coimbatore taluk and district, Tamil Nadu) of Simhavarman (Ramesh 1984, 479–82 no. 155) clearly point to their sway over the Kongu region. The Kudiliyam grant charter also refers to Perura viṣaya, and is possibly located in the same region (Ramesh 1984, 19–22 no. 6).

first year of his reign, attest to his control over the old capital of Kuvalala, which Simhavarman of the Kaivara branch had held earlier. In fact, one of the plots of wet land, Cakra-kedara, which had been granted by Simhavarman to Matri Sharman of Kashyapa gōtra, was regranted by Madhavarman II to Divakara Sharman of Vatsa gōtra (Ramesh 1984, 483–86 no. 156; 1984, 487–89 157). Such an action possibly represented an attempt by the king to build up a loyal following among influential brahmanas in the newly conquered territory. As H. Kulke has observed, royal grants to brahmanas were "a means of establishing royal power and to extend it into outer areas which had not yet come fully under the control of the central authority" (Kulke 1979, 224). If the Perura viṣaya referred to in the Melekote plates (Tumkur taluk, Tumkur district) (Ramesh 1984, 37–39 no. 11, l. 17) is to be identified with Perur in Coimbatore district, it would indicate that Madhavavarman II retained control of the Kongu country as well.

Apart from the Eastern division and the Kongu region, Madhavavarman consolidated Ganga possessions in the Western division as well. The Kodunjeruvu grant charter (Sidlaghatta taluk, Kolar district) of his son and successor indicates that Madhavavarman II entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Kadambas (Ramesh 1984, 52–55 no. 15),[12] as a result of which the Gangas appear to have gained possession of Sendraka viṣaya, Vallavi viṣaya-8,000 and Devalige viṣaya (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Hn 10), units located in the Belur–Chikmagalur tract of the Western division and in Shimoga district. These areas had earlier been under the control of the Kadambas (Rice 1902, 5: Bl 121).

In a similar fashion the Pannada and Punnata territories (covering the Heggadedevanakote and Nanjanagud taluks of Mysore district) were added to Ganga dominions as the result of a matrimonial alliance entered into by Avinita Ganga with the king of Punnata, Skandavarman. The Punnata territories were ceded to the Gangas in the absence of a Punnata male heir in the reign of Durvinita Ganga, the son of Avinita Ganga, by the Punnata princess (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Yl 167). This appears to have

[12] Avinita Ganga is described here as the sister's son of Krishnavarman Kadamba.

taken place sometime after his fourth regnal year, since subsequent records mention that Durvinita Ganga was the son of the daughter of Skandavarman, king of Punnata, and the overlord of the Pannada and Punnata territories.[13] To judge from the Kulagana plates (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of Shivamara I Ganga, these territories retained a distinct identity at least until his reign (AD 679–725), since both Shivamara and his predecessor Bhuvikrama Ganga are given the title borne by the lords of Pannada and Punnata territorial divisions *(janapada)* (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 347)

In contrast to those of the Paruvi Gangas, the records of the Talakad Gangas do not betray signs of subordination to an external power. However, the Hosakote plates (Hosakote taluk, Bangalore district) of Avinita Ganga record the grant of a house and lands to a temple of the *Arhat* that had been constructed at the behest of the mother of *Pallavādhirāja* Simhavishnu, for the fame of her husband's family and her own merit, at Pulli-ur in Korikunda bhōga (Ramesh 1984, 48–51 no. 14). This politico-geographical unit was a part of the Ganga dominions. The record was issued by Avinita Ganga and dated in his own regnal years; there is thus no sign of his possible subordination to the Pallavas. M. H. Krishna has suggested that the Pallava queen-mother was possibly a Ganga princess and on that account constructed the Jaina shrine within Ganga dominions (Krishna 1938, 90). This is possible, but the inscription does not specify her relationship with Avinita Ganga. It is difficult to conclude from the evidence at hand as to the status of the Ganga monarch *vis-à-vis* the Pallavas.

Durvinita Ganga's charters state that he fought victorious battles against his foes at Andarya, Alattur, Porulareya, Pernnagara, etc., though the adversaries are not specified (Ramesh 1984, 80–84 no. 21, ll. 23–24). Ramesh has suggested that these battles were fought against his brother, whom Avinita Ganga had preferred and probably nominated his successor but from whom Durvinita Ganga wrested the throne (Ramesh 1984, lviii).[14]

[13] The Uttanur plates (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district) (Ramesh 1984, no. 21), of the twentieth regnal year of Durvinita, are the earliest to refer to this.

[14] *"Pitrāparasuta samāvarjitayāpi Laksmyā svayam abhipratyāliṅgita vipula vakṣasthalēna"* (Ramesh 1984, 80–84 no. 21, l. 21).

Sheik Ali has modified this to suggest that Durvinita Ganga's brother was supported in the succession struggle by the Pallavas, while Durvinita Ganga himself was aided by his son-in-law, Vijayaditya Chalukya (Sheik Ali 1976, 64–65). He bases this on the fact that all the battles appear to have been fought in either the Kongu country or in Tondaimandalam (northern Tamil Nadu), the core of the Pallava realm.

It is very possible that these battles were fought against the Pallavas if Alattur, Andarya and other places are to be located in Tondaimandalam or Kongu, but there does not seem to be any basis for the suggestion that the Pallavas aided Durvinita Ganga's brother. Similarly, the evidence for a matrimonial alliance with the early Chalukyas comes from one of the Shimoga records,[15] and is not substantiated by contemporary Ganga or Chalukya inscriptions. Again, assuming that Durvinita Ganga did wage several campaigns against the Pallavas, the outcome of these battles is nowhere stated; Durvinita Ganga does claim victory, but royal eulogies are not to be relied upon on this point (Veluthat 1989, 22–23).

Whatever the position of Avinita Ganga and Durvinita Ganga *vis-à-vis* the Pallavas and early Chalukyas, stereotyped phrases in their eulogies present them as overlords. Thus, the Kodunjeruvu grant charter (Sidlaghatta taluk, Kolar district) states that Avinita Ganga was implicitly obeyed by his feudal lords *(asambhramāvanamita samasta sāmanta maṇḍalasya)* (Ramesh 1984, 52–55 no. 15), while the Penna-ur grant inscription (Hosakote taluk, Bangalore district) describes Durvinita Ganga as one "whose feet were coloured by the tiara of the kings kneeling before him in fear" (1984, 70–74 no. 19, ll. 24–25). Similarly, in the Kirumorekoli grant charter of Mushkara, his son and successor describes him as having "feet which were adorned by the juice of the flowers of garlands adorning the heads of many lords of earth defeated by him" (Ramesh 1984, 490–93 no. 158, ll. 33–35).

A lithic inscription from Serugunda (Chikmagalur taluk, Chikmagalur district) refers to a younger son of Nirvinita (Durvinita Ganga [?]) who was crowned with the Kongani chaplet (paṭṭa) by Kaduvatti (Pallava) and Vallava-arasa (Chalukya)

[15] Rice 1904, 8: Nr 35 is cited by Sheik Ali in this context.

(Rice 1901, 6: Cm 50). It is possible that this younger son was Polavira, whose Tagare plates (Belur taluk, Hassan district) (Ramesh 1984, 106–08 no. 27) relate to the same area as the Serugunda inscription.

From these records it is clear that a cadet line of the Gangas established itself in the Belur–Chikmagalur tract in a subordinate capacity, although it is not apparent whether their overlords were the Pallavas or the Chalukyas. There is no evidence, moreover, to determine how long this collateral branch of the Gangas lasted. Mushkara and his descendants continued to hold the southern part of the Western division—the area around Talakad, the Keregodu viṣaya (Mandya district) and the Punnadu and Pannada territories (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 347) together with the Eastern division (Ramesh 1984, 109–10 no. 28; 1984, 111–18 no. 29).

Bhuvikrama Ganga and his younger brother and successor, Shivamara I Ganga, were possibly the subordinate allies of the Chalukyas. Bhuvikrama Ganga (AD 609–679) was probably the Ganga king mentioned in the Aihole inscription (Badami taluk, Bijapur district) as having been subjected to Chalukya overlordship (Kielhorn 1900–1901a, 10, verse 19), though this is not supported by the Bedirur grant charter (Shrinivaspur taluk, Kolar district) of this monarch. However, Bhuvikrama Ganga claims to have defeated a Pallava king at Vilande (Ramesh 1984, 111–18 no. 29, ll. 30–31). While it is not clear whether this expedition was undertaken in cooperation with the Chalukyas, the Jangamarahalli inscription (Pavagada taluk, Tumkur district) indicates unambiguously that a Ganga contingent accompanied Vikramaditya II Chalukya when he invaded the Pallavas (Krishna 1941, 220–21).

On the other hand, it is possible that the Gangas, who were reduced to vassalage by the Chalukyas, belonged to a collateral lineage. Certainly the Ganga chief Madhava, who married Vikramaditya I's niece (brother's daughter) (Krishna 1939, 129–37) cannot be identified with a prince of the main line of the Gangas.

Filiation seems to have been a common process. When Bhuvikrama Ganga was succeeded in AD 679 by his younger brother, Navakama Shivamara I Ganga (AD 679–725),[16] Bhuvikrama

[16] D. P. Henige has argued that inscriptional genealogies generally practice collateral suppression. He consequently attacks the general assumption

Ganga's descendants apparently set up a subordinate principality in the Chikka-Ballapura taluk of Kolar district. In AD 808, the scion of this branch acknowledged the suzerainty of Govinda III Rashtrakuta (Seshadri 1965, 17: CB 66).

By AD 725, the Gangas held both the Eastern and Western divisions of the region, which together came to be designated the Ninety-six Thousand country *(shaṇṇavati sahasra viṣaya)* in the records of this period, and later as Gangavadi-96,000. Territorial acquisitions were accompanied by conquests as well as matrimonial alliances.

Even as the Gangas emerged as overlords in this territory, their own political status *vis-à-vis* the external powers, the Pallavas and Chalukyas, appears unclear. Ganga records do not acknowledge the sovereignty of any other dynasty, but the Gangas appear to have cooperated with the Chalukyas in their campaigns against the Pallavas. The numerous collateral branches of the Ganga lineage, for which there is evidence, appear to have acknowledged the overlordship either of the sovereign branch of the Gangas or of the Chalukyas and Pallavas.

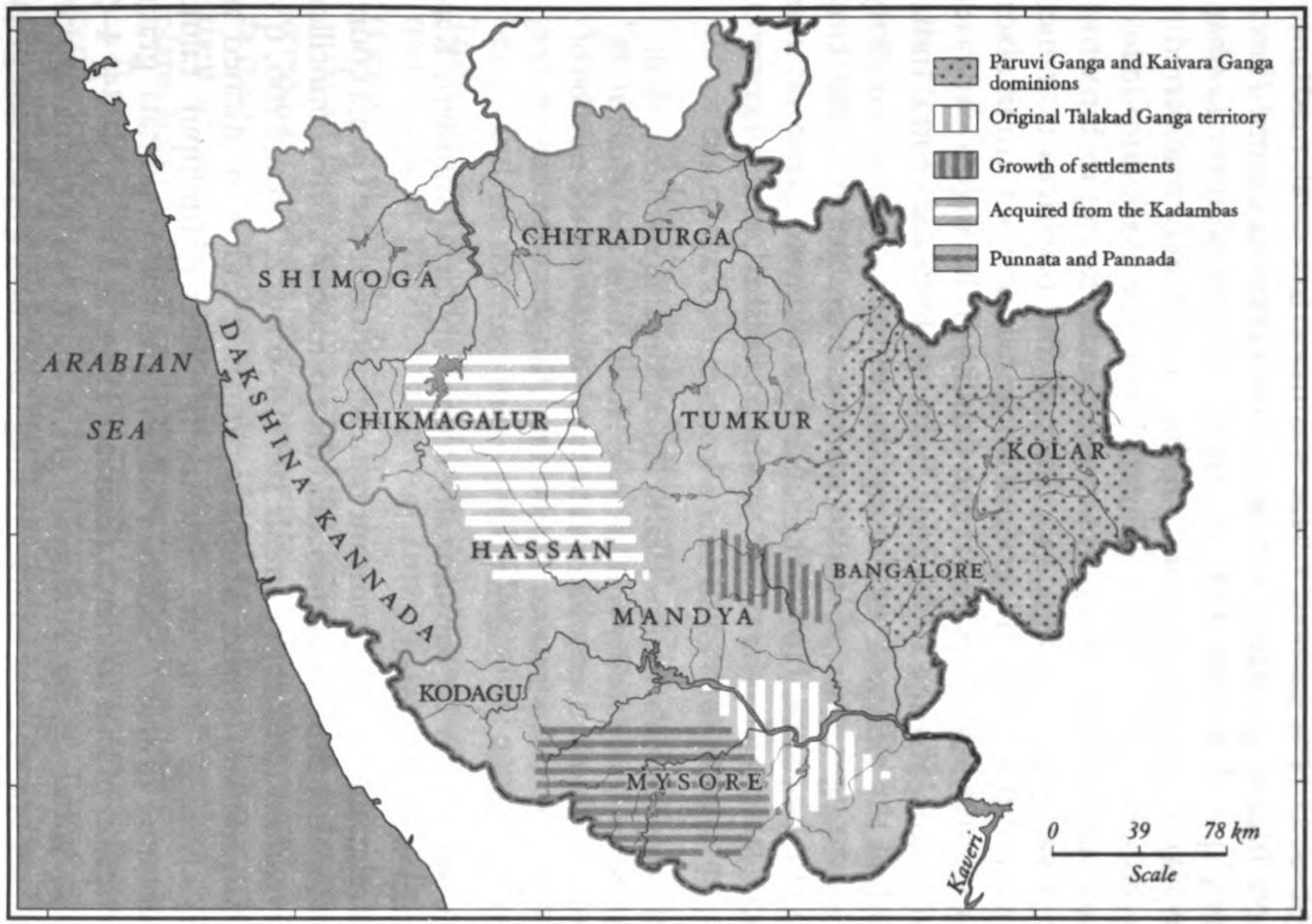
The majority of these first-phase inscriptions record grants of land and of whole villages to brahmanas. These charters in most cases merely state that the grant was made in accordance with the brahmadēya system *(brahmadēya kramēṇa)* (Ramesh 1984, 4–6 no. 2; 1984, 19–22 no. 6; 1984, 23–26 no. 7; 1984, 27–29 no. 8), which probably meant that the granted land was constituted as a tax-free holding (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Brahmadēya*). In some inscriptions, however, the donated village is specifically said to have been freed from all hindrances *(sarvaparihārai parihartavya)*. This is the case, for instance with the Bendiganahalli plates (Hoskote taluk, Bangalore district) of Vijaya Krishnavarman (Ramesh 1984, 15–18 no. 5, l. 18), the Nonamangala plates (Malur taluk, Kolar district) of Madhavavarman II (Talakad branch) (1984, 34–36 no. 10, ll. 20–21) and the Hosakote plates (Hosakote taluk, Bangalore district) of Avinita Ganga (1984, 48–51 no. 14). The Uttanur (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district) and

that genealogies are also king lists (Henige 1975, 538). However, the Ganga copper-plates are king lists, since they incorporate all rulers, collaterals included, who preceded the executors of the particular charter.

Gummareddipura plates (Srinivaspur taluk, Kolar district) (Ramesh 1984, 80–84 no. 21; 1984, 94–98 no. 24) of Durvinita Ganga register gifts of villages that were free of thirty-two types of hindrances *(dvātriṁśat parihāra samanvita)*.

Ganga copper-plates do not specify the exemptions covered under these blanket phrases such as sarva bādhā parihāra and dvātriṁśat parihāra. Contemporary Kadamba records are more explicit on this score. Thus, the Hitnahebbagilu plates (Piriyapatna taluk, Mysore district) of Vijaya Shiva Mrigeshavarman Kadamba register the gift of Kirunirilli village to Sarvasvami, son of Pingalasvami of Aupagahani gōtra (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Pp 49). The gift carried the privileges of *a-bhaṭa pravēśa* (freedom from the entry of royal agents) (Sircar 1966, q.v. *A-bhata prāvēśya*), *antaṣkara viṣṭikam* (exemptions from internal taxes and forced labour) (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Antaḥkara*) and *parihṛta paṅgōtkōṭam* (exemption from all taxes and levies payable to the king) (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Paṅga, Utkōṭa*).[17] Similarly, the Malavalli pillar inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) records the grant of Somapatti, Kongi-nagara, Vegur and several other places by Shivaskandavarman Kadamba to the diety Mattapattideva; a-bhaṭa pravēśa, *saṁsiddhikam* and sarva bādhā parihāra are the privileges mentioned in this context (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 264). Saṁsiddhikam is unfortunately left unexplained, but it might mean the right to settle disputes and collect internal revenue, as in abhyantara siddhi (Sharma, personal communication). Likewise, the Hiresakuna copper-plates (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of Mrigeshavarman Kadamba record the grant of Kadalakalani grāma to a brahmana, which was declared free of all hindrances (sarva bādhā parihāra) and was exempt from entry by royal agents such as soldiers *(bhaṭa)* (a-bhaṭa pravēśa) (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 33). The Kudagere plates (Sagar taluk, Shimoga district) of Vijaya Shiva Mandhatrivarman Kadamba, which register the donation of twenty nivarttanas of wet land *(kēdāra)*, specify a-bhaṭa-pravēśa, antaḥkara viṣṭikam and *sukhaṭvāvāsau dāna* among the conditions of the grant (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 29). Sukhaṭvāvāsau dāna implied the provision of a shelter and a bed to the king or landlord or to the touring officers

[17] Paṅga has been explained as one-fourth of the produce sometimes collected from rent-free holdings of brahmanas or deities, while utkōṭa means customary presents made to the king.



Map 2 Growth of Ganga Domains in Southern Karnataka AD 400–725

(Sircar 1966: q.v. *A-kūra-cullaka-vaināśi-khaṭv-āvāsa*). Finally, the Sorab copper-plates of Vinayaditya Chalukya dated AD 692 record the grant of Salivoge village in Edevolal viṣaya at the request of Chitravahana, the son of Gunasagara Alupendra (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 571). The granted village was made free of all hindrances (sarva bādhā parihāra), exempted from taxes *(a-karam)* (Sircar 1966, q.v. *A-karam*) and the entry of royal soldiers (a-bhaṭa pravēśa). Moreover, all taxes payable in cash were transferred to the donee *(sa-hiraṇyam)* (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Sa-hiraṇy-ādāna*). Grants carrying such privileges created landed estates within which the royal writ no longer ran; instead, the beneficiaries gained control over the surplus produce of the land in the form of taxes, in kind and in cash, without the liability of having to pay taxes to the state (Sharma 1985, 26–27). In northern and central India, this had the effect of weakening the power of central authority and creating a class of landed intermediaries between the king and the peasants. However, Kulke has suggested that in areas where state society was but newly established, the function of the brahmana donees was

> the propagation of the new ideal of Hindu Kingship and hierarchically structured caste society with the new Hindu rulers and priests at the top. In a modern sense they were also responsible for the erection of the whole infrastructure of the new Kingdom, particularly its administration (Kulke 1979, 224).

This appears to be substantially correct so far as southern Karnataka was concerned.

Brahmanas had a significant representation at the Ganga court. A brahmana, Soma Sharman, held the position of a privy councillor *(sarvarahasyādhikṛta)* (Ramesh 1984, 4–6 no. 2; Sircar 1966, q.v. *Rahasyādhikṛta*) under Madhavavarman I, and is mentioned as the scribe in both the Sasanakota plates (Hindupur taluk, Anantapur district, Andhra Pradesh) and the Kandasala grant inscription of that monarch (Ramesh 1984, 1–3 no. 1; 1984, 4–6 no. 2). Similarly, the Kudiliyam grant charter of Krishnavarman (Kaivara branch) was written by Eraga Sharman, a brahmana privy councillor [?] *(sarvamantrādhikṛta)* (Ramesh 1984, 19–22 no. 6).[18]

[18] In the opinion of Ramesh, sarvamantrādhikṛta refers to the same office as sarvarahasyādhikṛta (Ramesh 1984, 19–22 no. 6).

The Keregalur copper-plates (Hassan taluk, Hassan district) of Madhavavarman II (Talakad branch), however, provide the most striking information on the significant role played by brahmana donees in the administration of the Ganga nation.

This record registers the gift of five villages in Vallavi-8,000 and a tenth share of the taxes of Kirumundaniri-nagara in Devalge viṣaya to twenty-two brahmana families. Versed in the six duties, the study of the Vedas and employed within the palace enclosure *(prāsāda prākāra baddhōdyōgāṇām)*, they were adept in counsel and the determination of usage to be followed; acted as envoys; advised on making alliances and wars; determined with whom to ally and when to keep quiet after proclaiming war *(vigrihyasana)*; and how to march forth to battle in combination with others and how to attack the enemy in the rear. They were equally skilled in the protection of the kingdom *(maṇḍala)*, in wielding the implements of war, in the construction of fortresses, in governing rural (janapada) and urban *(paura)* areas and in managing the treasury *(kōśa)*. They were lords over men, protectors of the brahmanical social order *(varṇāśramadharma)*, chiefs and lords over the Manigrama Śrēṇis and the citizens of the four subordinate districts *(catuḥ sāmanta dēśa)* of Tegure, Amaniya, Nandyala and Simbala. Adept in sacrifices to the gods and the manes, they were deeply versed in the *Ṛg* and *Yajur* Vedas and in uttering the words purified by sacred formulae. They engaged in congregational services, and were lords over the merchants of the Tuviyal group *(tuviyāl śrēṣṭhi sarvādhyakṣa)* (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Hn 10).

Apart from being described in customary terms as being well-versed in the Vedas, the donees of this record were also described as rulers of subordinate districts and the king's advisers owing to their administrative expertise. The charter in the Keregalur copper-plates had the effect of further extending their domain.

It is probably the same group of brahmanas, or their descendants, who are referred to in the Kodunjeruvu grant charter (Sidlaghatta taluk, Kolar district) of Avinita Ganga as the learned brahmanas *(cāturvaidya)* and important personages *(pradhāna puruṣa)* belonging to Maniyadegure, Nandiyala, Simpala, Nandare, Madanda, Mulcorompi, Manali, Marugare, Gamjenadu, Nirgunda, Celle, Velgola and Sendraka viṣayas (Ramesh 1984, 52–55 no. 15, ll. 26–28). The first four units mentioned in this grant are the

same as those mentioned in the Keregalur copper-plates. The people of these districts, together with the cāturvaidyas, are again mentioned in the Saliggame charter (Hosakote taluk, Bangalore district) of Durvinita Ganga as witnesses to the gift (Ramesh 1984, 89–93 no. 23, ll. 33–34). Likewise, the landlords [?] *(mahāmanuṣya)* of Maniya, Tegure, Asimbala, Nandiyala, etc., and the cāturvaidyas are cited as witnesses to the Nallalam grant charter (Sidlaghatta taluk, Kolar district) of the fortieth year of the reign of Durvinita Ganga (Ramesh 1984, 99–103 no. 25, l. 36). It is not altogether clear whether the mahā-manuṣyas and pradhāna puruṣas of these units were identical with the cāturvaidyas who are mentioned conjointly with them on each occasion.

Cāturvaidyas were probably brahmanas versed in all the four Vedas. This is brought out by the Sisavai charter (Murtazapur taluk, Akola district, Maharashtra) of Govinda III Rashtrakuta, which mentions a Vishnucaturvedin, who is said to belong to a family of cāturvaidyas (Mirashi 1935–36, 205). Another record of the same monarch registers a grant to Bhatta Risiyappa, who belonged to a family of *traividyas*, which the editor V. B. Kolte interprets as signifying knowledge of three Vedas (Kolte 1957–58, 157–64). At all events, the cāturvaidyas had a salient presence in the court of Madhavavarman II (Talakad branch) and his immediate successors.

It is thus no coincidence that Madhavavarman II of the Talakad branch, his son Avinita Ganga and grandson Durvinita Ganga are described in their eulogies as maintainers of the ideal brahmanical social order, the varṇāśramadharma. In classical epic sources the maintenance of such an order was ensured by the administration of justice *(daṇḍa nīti)* (Monier-Williams 1988, q.v. *Danda*), which generated prosperity in the kingdom. Its neglect was thought to bring on the age of Kali with its concomitant unrighteousness *(varṇa saṁkara)* (Monier-Williams 1988, q.v. *Varṇa-saṁkara*) and natural calamities (Ganguli 1981, 8:154). It is in this context that the eulogies of these three early Ganga monarchs have to be viewed. Thus, the Nonamangala plates (Malur taluk, Kolar district) of Avinita Ganga laud Madhavavarman II as having been "ever engaged in the task of uplifting righteousness which had been submerged in the mud and mire of the Kali Age" *(kaliyuga balāvamagna dharmōddharaṇa nitya sannadhasya)*

(Ramesh 1984, 40–43 no. 12, l. 15). Avinita Ganga himself is described in the same record as being "alert in administering his Kingdom and the very Yudhisthira of this age" *(prajā paripālanā kula parikara bandhēna kiṁ bahunā idaṁ kāla Yudhiṣṭhirēṇa)* (Ramesh 1984, 40–43 no. 12, ll. 19–20). Durvinita Ganga's copper-plate charters describe him not merely as the Yudhisthira (Ramesh 1984, 66–69 no. 18, l. 37) or Mandhata (1984, 75–79 no. 20, l. 38) of this age but also state that he was "as good as Manu in meting out proper punishments and was the protector of castes and the various stages of life" *(yathārha daṇḍatayānukṛta vaivasvatēna varṇāśramābhirakṣiṇā)* (1984, 66–69 no. 18, ll. 14–15).

Another aspect of the royal image where brahmanical influence is clearly discernible is in claims to the performance of sacrificial rites *(yajña)* such as the *hiraṇyagarbha* and the *aśvamedha*. The performance of these sacrifices was a time-honoured method by which kings could claim Kshatriya status and overlordship. In regions undergoing the transition from the pre-state to the state-society stage, the performance of the hiraṇyagarbha in particular lent respectability to the nascent ruling lineages (Veluthat 1989, 17–18; Kosambi 1988, 318, 343–44). Unlike their contemporaries the Pallavas and the Kadambas, the Gangas by and large did not make such claims; but the Kodunjeruvu grant (Sidlaghatta taluk, Kolar District) of Avinita Ganga and all succeeding Ganga copper-plate charters conspicuously refer to his relationship to Krishnavarman Kadamba "whose body had been bathed in the waters of the uninterrupted horse-sacrifices he had performed" *(avichinn āśvamēdha āvabhṛtha abhiṣikta)* (Ramesh 1984, 52–55 no. 15, ll. 14–15).

The first reference to a Ganga having performed such sacrifices comes from the Nallalam grant (Sidlaghatta taluk, Kolar District) of Durvinita Ganga's fortieth regnal year. This record states that Durvinita Ganga "had performed every year numerous special religious sacrifices and had been anointed by the waters of the great sacrifice called *hiraṇyagarbha*" (Ramesh 1984, 99–103 no. 25, l. 32). Strangely, this claim is not repeated in any subsequent Ganga record. The same fate has also overtaken Durvinita Ganga's innovative claim to Vrishni ancestry made in his Gummareddipura plates (Srinivaspur taluk, Kolar district), also issued in the fortieth year of his reign (Ramesh 1984, 94–98 no. 24, l. 31).

Thereafter, as D. D. Kosambi points out, the *tulāpuruṣa dāna* and similar great sacrifices *(mahādāna)* become commoner than the hiraṇyagarbha (Kosambi 1988, 343–44). This is borne out by the Agali grant inscription (Tumkur taluk, Tumkur district) of Shripurusha Ganga of AD 748, which states that "the interior of his palace echoed the sounds of the religious ceremonies accompanying the great gifts made by him every day" (Ramesh 1984, 155–61 no. 42, ll. 34–35). After Shripurusha, no Ganga monarch claims to have performed these rites. This corroborates the point made earlier about brahmanical influence being at its zenith during the reigns of Madhavavarman II and his successors; subsequently, the Puranic devotion *(bhakti)* ideology gained the upper hand.

Although the majority of the first-phase records are brahmadēya grants, inscriptions registering service-tenure grants are not unknown. Thus, the Kallur inscription (Shrinivaspur taluk, Kolar district) of Shrivikrama Ganga (c. AD 585–609) registers a blood grant *(nettar paṭṭi)* of one khaṇḍuga of sowable paddy fields to Pabhu, who died in a battle while attempting to take Rakkasanuru (Ramesh 1984, 109–10 no. 28). Ramesh is of the opinion that nettar paṭṭi is the Kannada equivalent of *raktamānya* (Ramesh 1984, 110), which has been interpreted as an endowment of rent-free land for the support of the descendants of warriors killed in battle (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Raktamānya*). Such grants became legion in the second phase, when they were designated as kalnāḍ.

The Bedirur grant of Bhuvikrama Ganga (Shrinivaspur taluk, Kolar district) dated AD 634–35 registers the gift of the village of Bedirur in Hodali viṣaya to Vikramaditya Gāvuṇḍa, who is designated the lord of Kolala viṣaya (Kolar) and described as a pure sudra *(sat shūdra)*. The donee is lauded as the king's valiant solider *(mama vīr bhaṭa)* (Ramesh 1984, 111–18 no. 29, ll. 35–38). Vikramaditya Gāvuṇḍa thus appears to have been a vassal of Bhuvikrama Ganga, rendering military services to his overlord. The grant extended his domains by adding a village in Hodali viṣaya to his overlordship. An interesting facet to note in this grant is that Kolar, which was the original core of the Ganga kingdom, was now under the control of a feudatory. Perhaps this represented a gradual shift in the locus of the Ganga kingdom from the Eastern to the Western divisions. Also noteworthy is

the peasant extraction of the donee as indicated by the title of Gāvuṇḍa (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Gāvuṇḍa*).

Apart from the grants mentioned above, there are several incidental references to feudatories who held various territorial units as their domains. The Bendiganahalli plates (Hoskote taluk, Bangalore district) of Vijaya Krishnavarman (Kaivara branch) is the earliest available record to do so. This inscription registers the gift of Kuru-ura village in the Perati bhōga, which was a subdivision of Paruvi viṣaya, to Matri Sharman. Perati *Sēnāpati* is said to have been instrumental in making the grant possible *(prādāpayat)* (Ramesh 1984, 15–18 no. 5). Ramesh holds that 'Perati' was used to identify the commander-in-charge of the Perati bhōga, and was unlikely to be the proper name of the person holding the office of sēnāpati (Ramesh 1984, 17). The same record mentions Matrivarman, the son of Carakki Murasa Kella, as the writer of the copper-plates. Kella was the surname of a chiefly family from the Kanara and Konkan coasts (Ramesh 1984, 18).

The Chukuttur grant charter (Sidlaghatta taluk, Kolar district) of Simhavarman (Kaivara branch) refers to Apapa, the lord of Banapura, as the writer of this record (Ramesh 1984, 23–26 no. 7, l. 27). The same individual is also mentioned in a similar capacity in the Kodunjeruvu grant charter (Sidlaghatta taluk, Kolar district) of Avinita Ganga (Ramesh 1984, 52–55 no. 15, l. 31). Similarly, the Melekote plates (Tumkur taluk, Tumkur district) of Madhavavarman II (Talakad branch) were written by Carudatta Sēnāpati (Ramesh 1984, no. 11).

The most informative source on the subject of feudatories is the Saliggame grant (Hosakote taluk, Bangalore district) of Durvinita Ganga. This record lists Perbbana Mutta-arasa, Siyavallava-arasa, Petta-ella Sāmanta and the Attani as witnesses to the grant (Ramesh 1984, 89–93 no. 23, ll. 33–35). A similar list of witnesses in the Kulagana plates (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district), which register grants of land to the Jaina chaityālaya at Kellipusur, includes the Twelve of Kellipusur, the corporate body of its inhabitants, the Five Sāmantas *(aysāmanta)*; and the Four Attani *(nālattāṇi)* (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 347, l. 21. Likewise, the Tagare plates (Belur taluk, Hassan district) of Polavira mentions Kannela-arasa as a witness together with the Mahājanas of Anandura and Sikkamba (Ramesh 1984, 106–108 no. 27).

While Perbbana Mutta-arasa, Siyavallava-arasa and Kannela-arasa were clearly subordinate rulers,[19] as were the Five Sāmantas,[20] it is not altogether clear who the Attani were. Some eighth-century records from Kolar district, however, refer to individuals named Attani: an inscription from Medutambihalli (Kolar taluk) registers a grant of land made by Jettan, the ruler of Puttur, to Attani of Puttur (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 229). Another record from Medutambihalli features Attani of Puttur in the capacity of a donor, in association with Petta-arasa: gifts of land and a house were made to the dependants of a hero who had died in a cattle raid in which the people of Puttur appear to have participated (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 232). Likewise, the Balla inscription (Mulbagal taluk) from the close of the eighth century registers the gift of rice fields to a cowherd; the donors were Attani and Masarakuttiyaru, who were pleased by the valour of the hero (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 92). From available evidence, then, the Attani appear to have been local notables who were initially involved as witnesses in the royal grants and later donated lands themselves.

Other references to subordinates come from the Bedirur grant (Shrinivaspur taluk, Kolar district) of Bhuvikrama Ganga, which mentions two commanders of the forces *(daṇḍādhipa)* as executors of the grant *(ittham kṛtam)* (Ramesh 1984, 111–18 no. 29, l. 59); the Navalai inscription (Harur taluk, Dharmapuri district) of his successor Shivamara I Ganga, which refers to the rule of Kanda Vannadiyaraiyar over Puramalai nāḍu (1984, 119 no. 30); the Hallegere plates (Mandya taluk, Mandya district) of the same monarch, which register the grant of a village at the request of Jayavriddhi and Pallavadhiraja, the sons of the Pallava crown prince (yuvarāja) (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Md 35, ll. 24-25); and finally, the Kulagana plates (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district), which mention Kannamman of Ganje nāḍu as the ruler of Kodugur nāḍu; the landowners *(voyga)* of Oramkal and Simpal, who were together ruling Tuppur, and the Pallava crown prince (pallavēḷarasa) as the donors (1975, 4: Ch 347, ll. 27–28). The references to

[19] Arasa, meaning king or lord, is the tadbhava form of raja (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Arasa*).

[20] Sāmanta had come to mean, by this time, a feudatory of lower status than a rāja (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Sāmanta*).

the Pallava crown prince in the Hallegere and Kulagana plates is interesting. It is possible that this prince was taken hostage by Bhuvikrama Ganga during his campaign against the Pallavas (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Md 35, verse 2, ll. 23–25). The landowners, on the other hand, appear to have been drawn from the local elite. Ramesh is of the opinion that voyga was a corruption of the Sanskrit *bhōgya*, and was used in the sense of property or fief (bhukti) in Kannada epigraphs. Thus, the landowners of Oramkal and Simpal probably enjoyed the income from those places and were, in addition, the joint administrators of Tuppur (Ramesh 1984, 139). Kannamman of Ganje nāḍu possibly had a similar origin and was additionally the ruler *(āḷdana)* of another nāḍu (Gopal 1975, 4: Ch 347, l. 28).

It is noteworthy that while the courtiers, whether brahmana or non-brahmana, were initially associated with royal grants only as executors, writers or witnesses, they subsequently began to donate land in their own right towards the close of the first phase, albeit with the king's permission. A similar point is made by N. Dirks in his study of the political and social structures of the Pallavas. He has bifurcated the reign of the Pallavas into two phases – the first extending from the third to the seventh centuries AD and the second from the seventh to the tenth centuries AD – on the basis of changes in ritual. The first phase, in his opinion, was marked by the pre-eminence of yajña as the constitutive royal ritual—it not only legitimised the king's rule but also gave him the status of suzerain. Similarly, the political personages of the realm were located in their positions by the role they played in the royal gifts (dāna): the king's relatives made grants themselves, the courtiers received particular titles as a result of their executing or transmitting the royal grant while a third category of chiefs gave expression to their subordination by their acquiescence to the royal grant. In the second phase, however, descent (vaṁśa) rather than yajña became the principle on which sovereignty was claimed even though dāna, too, continued to be an expression of overlordship. However, in the second phase the vassal chiefs are identified by name, the territories ruled by them are mentioned and they become participants in the royal grant instead of mere executors by requesting *(vijñapti)* the king to make the grant. This in Dirks' view amounts to shared sovereignty between the king and the chiefs (Dirks 1976, 142–57).

The significance of yajñas, the predominance of the brahmanical idiom in the royal eulogies of the first phase and the possible use of the royal gifts as an integrative device have been noted earlier in the context of southern Karnataka. That the subordinate chiefs are mentioned in the first phase records only in the context of the royal gift cannot be denied. To conclude from this, however, that their political position was constituted by the nature and degree of their participation in the king's gift-giving rituals would be to take an over-restricted view of early medieval polity. The evidence from southern Karnataka indicates fairly unambiguously that the subordinate chiefs had their own domains. Whether they were agents of the centre delegated to the periphery to ensure continued control or were autochthonous chiefs subjugated militarily is not quite so clear.[21]

Moreover, state society in southern Karnataka was first introduced under the aegis of the Gangas and their brahmana allies. The earliest Ganga charters indicated that the region's autochthonous peoples were exposed to a highly Sanskritised and brahmanical culture. With growing acculturation and the spread of literacy, larger numbers of the emergent tribal elites appropriated royal symbols and modes of political control (Larsen 1988, 187–88). These included the issue of genealogies and king-lists and a participation in gift-giving ceremonies, which would explain the increased frequency in the references to subordinate chiefs towards the close of the first phase. Also significant is the fact that most of these references occured in the section on grants in the copper-plate charters, which, increasingly, were in the vernacular. Such vernacular inscriptions predominated numerically in the second phase, with the local chiefs and notables making grants often without referring to their overlord. Their role was clearly not restricted to requests (vijñapti) by this time.

By the beginning of the eighth century, then, the Gangas had emerged as a sub-regional power of some importance. They were overlords to an array of subordinate chiefly lineages such as

[21] Michael Mann points out that the logistical problems precluded direct control of the entire territory from the centre and this necessitated either rule through the conquered local clients or the dispersal of army commanders and troops throughout the realm (Mann 1986, 1: 143–44).

the Nolambas and Banas, while they themselves were possibly subordinate allies to the Chalukyas of Vatapi.

The Contest for Hegemony: The Second Phase (c. AD 725–1030)

The second phase among the Gangas may be said to have begun with Shripurusha. Early in his reign (AD 725–788), a Ganga contingent led by his son Duggamara Ereyanga joined Vikramaditya II Chalukya in his campaign against the Pallava ruler, Parameshvaravarman (*Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* 1943–44, 90 no. 22). This was but one of several Ganga campaigns against the Pallavas that marked the reign of Shripurusha. Parameshvaravarman was apparently slain in one of these offensives (Nilakantha Sastri 1987, 154). One of the Shimoga records states that the Gangas then appropriated the traditional Pallava title of *Permānaḍi* (Rice 1904, 8: Nr 35), but a perusal of Ganga records shows that it was under Satyavakya Rachamalla I that the title came to be applied to the Gangas (Ramesh 1984, 282–92 no. 90, ll. 103–104). However, certain lithic inscriptions (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 80; Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 126; Ramesh 1984, 221–22 no. 53) apply the sovereign titles of *Mahārājadhirāja Paramēśvara Bhaṭāra* to Shripurusha as do the Agali grant charter (Ramesh 1984, 155–54 no. 42, l. 43)[22] and the Devarahalli plates (Nagamangala taluk, Mandya district) (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ng 149, l. 59). Nevertheless, the titles of Mahārāja and Pṛthivī Koṅgaṇi Mahārāja, too, continued to be applied. It was again Rachamalla I who was consistent in his use of sovereign titles.

The contest with the Pallavas does not seem to have resulted in any permanent territorial acquisitions. Shripurusha possibly wrested some territory up to Penkulikottai in the early years of Nandivarman Pallavamalla's reign with the aid of a minor Ganga chieftain and a Bana. However, this territory (around Kulidikki, in modern Gudiyattam taluk, North Arcot district) was regained by the Pallava monarch sometime in the middle of the eighth

[22] However, line 35 applies the more humble title of *Pṛthivi Kongani Mahārāja*.

century. The minor Ganga chief in actual control of the region was slain and the Bana acknowledged Pallava suzerainty (Aiyar 1933–34, 110–13).

Pandyan records indicate that the Ganga hold over the Kongu region was threatened by a Pandyan invasion in which the Gangas and their Chalukyan ally were worsted. Peace was apparently restored by a matrimonial alliance between a Ganga princess and Rajasimha Pandya's son (Nilakantha Sastri 1987, 156). It is not altogether clear whether the Gangas retained Kongu after this incident. The Salem plates (Salem taluk, Salem district) of Shripurusha, which are dated AD 771 and record the grant of the village Komaramangala in Pudukanda viṣaya as a brahmadēya for the benefit of Indraraja, the brother of Kanchi-abbe, queen of Duggamara Ereyanga (the son of Shripurusha Ganga) (Ramesh 1984, 155–61 no. 47), would indicate that Kongu dēśa remained part of the Ganga domains. This inscription clearly post-dates the Pandyan war, in which the Chalukyas, too, were said to have been involved. By AD 771, the Chalukyas had been overthrown and replaced by the Rashtrakutas.

A lengthy struggle to reduce the Gangas to submission commenced with the accession of the Rashtrakutas, an effort which was to become the main preoccupation of the Ganga dynasty for the next two centuries. The Talegaon plates (Sirur taluk, Pune district, Maharashtra) of Krishna I Rashtrakuta were issued from Manyapura, a Ganga capital under Shripurusha, and attests to the initial success of the expedition (Konow 1915–16, 275–82). As Mann has pointed out, the army in its march usually managed to conquer wide territories which, however, could not be controlled effectively from the centre owing to logistical constraints once the campaign was over. It was perhaps this compulsion that induced most sovereigns to remain in almost perpetual conflict with their neighbours (Mann 1986, 1: 142, 145), hence the inscriptional references to camps *(skandhāvāra)*.

The Nandi plates (Chikka-Ballapura taluk, Kolar district) of Shripurusha were issued from the royal camp at Perur (Ramesh 1984, 152–54 no. 41, ll. 6–7), while the Agali grant charter (Tumkur taluk, Tumkur district) was made when he was stationed at the victory camp at Konigil-nagara *(koṇigil nagaram adhivasati vijayaskandhāvāre)* (Ramesh 1984, 155–61 no. 42, l. 37). Likewise, the Javali plates (Mudgere taluk, Chikmagalur district) of

AD 750–51 were issued from the victory camp at the village of Manne (Nelamangala taluk, Bangalore district) (Rice 1901, 6: Mg 36, l. 37). It was this village, which was later renamed Manyanagara, that grew to be a major centre of Ganga power under Shripurusha. As mentioned earlier, the Talegaon plates of Krishna I were issued from Manyapura in AD 768, betokening the success of his expedition. However, his progress through Ganga domains was not unopposed—several inscriptions from Tumkur district indicate that the feudal levies of the Gangas were mustered in defence.[23] Among the feudatories participating in these battles with the Rashtrakutas at Pinchanur and Bageyur were Siyagella, the ruler of Marugare nāḍu-300 (Nilakantha Sastri 1958, 16: Tm 86, 87, 88, 91, 93, 94, 95, 99), Mutta-arasa, Nagata-arasa (1958, 16: Tm 95), Jadiya Mutta-arasa (Rice 1904, 12: Mi 99), Kitta-arasa and Pulikkada-arasa (Nilakantha Sastri 1958, 16: Tm 91). Marugare nāḍu and Kesumannu nāḍu, both of which were ruled by Siyagella, apparently bore the brunt of the invasion since the majority of the Hiregundagal hero-stones record the deaths of his retainers.

Krishna I does not appear to have retained any part of Gangavadi after his return to his own dominions. Dhruva Rashtrakuta and his successor Govinda III were more successful in this regard. Dhruva's invasion is to be dated to the post-AD 788 period, during the reign of Shivamara II Ganga who had succeeded Shripurusha after a fratricidal struggle with Duggamara Ereyanga (Krishna 1929, 104 no. 37). The invasion ended disastrously for Shivamara, since he was captured and imprisoned (Shama Sastri 1926, 88). The Manne plates (Nelamangala taluk, Bangalore district) of his son Yuvarāja Marasimha claim that he defeated the cavalry of Dhora (Dhruva Rashtrakuta) at Mudugundur (Ramesh 1984, 190–205 no. 49, ll. 57–58). Even if this is accepted, the overall result of Dhruva's campaign was that the Ganga domains passed into Rashtrakuta hands and Kambharaja Ranavaloka Rashtrakuta, Dhruva's son, was placed in charge of them (Shama Sastri 1926, 87–88).

After the abdication or death of Dhruva (Altekar 1937, 60–61) a succession dispute developed in the Rashtrakuta empire

[23] *"Gaṅgavādiya mēge Raṭṭar ēḷa...samasta prabhṛtigaḷge kēli vandu..."* (Rice 1904,12: Mi 99).

between Govinda III, his nominated successor, and Kambharaja Ranavaloka, the governor of Gangavadi. Govinda III thereupon released Shivamara II Ganga (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 278, ll. 30–31) and reinstated him as well as Nandivarman Pallava, a fact mentioned in the Manne plates (Nelamangala taluk, Bangalore district) of Marasimha (Ramesh 1984, 190–205 no. 49, ll. 64–66). When Shivamara II threw in his lot with Kambharaja Ranavaloka, however, he was recaptured and imprisoned once more (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 278, ll. 30–31). Kambharaja Ranavaloka, though defeated by Govinda, continued to rule Gangavadi until at least AD 808, the date of the Badaneguppe grant charter (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 278). He was succeeded by a Rashtrakuta feudatory, Chakiraja, whose Kadaba plates (Gubbi taluk, Tumkur district) designate him as a sovereign *(adhirāja)* of Ganga Maṇḍala. Chakiraja's nephew, Vimaladitya of Chalukya vaṁśa, was ruling Kunungil dēśa under him (Luders 1896–97, 338–49). The Rashtrakutas were thus building up their own support base in southern Karnataka.

However, the Gangas retained their hold over some pockets. Yuvarāja Marasimha, son of Shivamara II Ganga, apparently held territory around Manyapura (Ramesh 1984, 190–205 no. 49, ll. 112–13) and perhaps the Paruvi viṣaya as well (1984, 206–16 no. 50, ll. 106–13). An inscription from Marase (Mysore taluk, Mysore district) registers a grant to the goddess Bhagavati, installed there by one Bijayta (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 186). The donor has been identified as Vijayaditya, the younger brother of Shivamara II Ganga, by Krishna, the editor of the *Archaeological Survey of Mysore Annual Report* (Krishna 1929, 105–106 no. 38). It was Vijayaditya's son, Rachamalla I, who "freed his kingdom of the occupation of the Rashtrakutas and thereby regained mastery over his own hegemony and won fame" in AD 819 (Ramesh 1984, 282–92 no. 90, ll. 80–83). However, it would seem that a portion of the Ganga domains remained with the Rashtrakuta feudatory, Bankesa (Ramesh 1984, 340–49 no. 113, ll. 34–35).

Rachamalla I Ganga strengthened his political base by entering into matrimonial alliances with the Nolambas. Rachamalla himself married the younger sister of Nolambadhiraja Polalchora, and gave his daughter Jayabbe in marriage to him (Rice 1904, 12: Si 38).

The Nolambas now became the feudatories of the Gangas, having earlier been the vassals of the Rashtrakutas (Rice 1903, 11: Cl 33, 34). A record from Kolar refers to the rule of Nolambadhiraja over Ganga-6,000 under Rachamalla's successor, Nitimarga Ereyanga I (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 79). This area, including Kuvalala-300, Ganga 6,000 and smaller units, had earlier been ruled by Duggamara Ereyanga, the son of Shripurusha (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 80, Sp 57, 65, 225). From the ninth century onwards, the Nolambas became entrenched in this area, which came to be designated over time as the Nolambavadi 32,000 country (Rice 1905, 10: Sp 59). With this the locus of Ganga power shifted westwards, even as Ganga lithic inscriptions commenced referring to them as Kuvaḷālapuravarēśvara and Nandagirināṭha in token of their ancient association with the area.

The Rashtrakutas, under Amoghavarsha I, made another attempt to recover Gangavadi. Bankesa, the Rashtrakuta feudatory, led his armies far into Ganga dominions, conquering Kedala (Tumkur district) and forcing the Ganga to flee from his capital of Talavanapura (Talakad). However, rebellions within the Rashtrakuta territories compelled Bankesa to beat a retreat, returning the political situation to status quo ante. This invasion by Bankesa is mentioned in the Konnur inscription (Navalgund taluk, Dharwad district) of Amoghavarsha I, dated AD 860 (Kielhorn 1900–1901b, 25 no. 4), but is not referred to in any Ganga record. The Ganga king in question appears to have been Nitimarga Ereyanga I, to judge from "Nitimarga Ranavikrama" occurring in double entendre in verse 24. The Gangas, on their part, claim victory in the battle of Rajaramadu over the Rashtrakutas (Ramesh 1984, 340–49 no. 113, verses 11–12).

The net consequence of these skirmishes appears to have been the conclusion of a matrimonial alliance between the two dynasties, with Amoghavarsha's daughter being married to Butuga I, the younger son of Nitimarga Ereyanga I (Ramesh 1984, 340–49 no. 113, ll. 62–63). The Gangas on their part seem to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Rashtrakutas, to judge from the title of *Sakala Pṛthivīvallabha* appended to Aṃoghavarsha in the Keregodi Rangapura plates (Tiptur taluk, Tumkur district) (Ramesh 1984, 340–49 no. 113, l. 62). This impression is strengthened by the Cikka Sarangi inscription (Tumkur taluk, Tumkur district) of AD 903, which states that a feudatory of

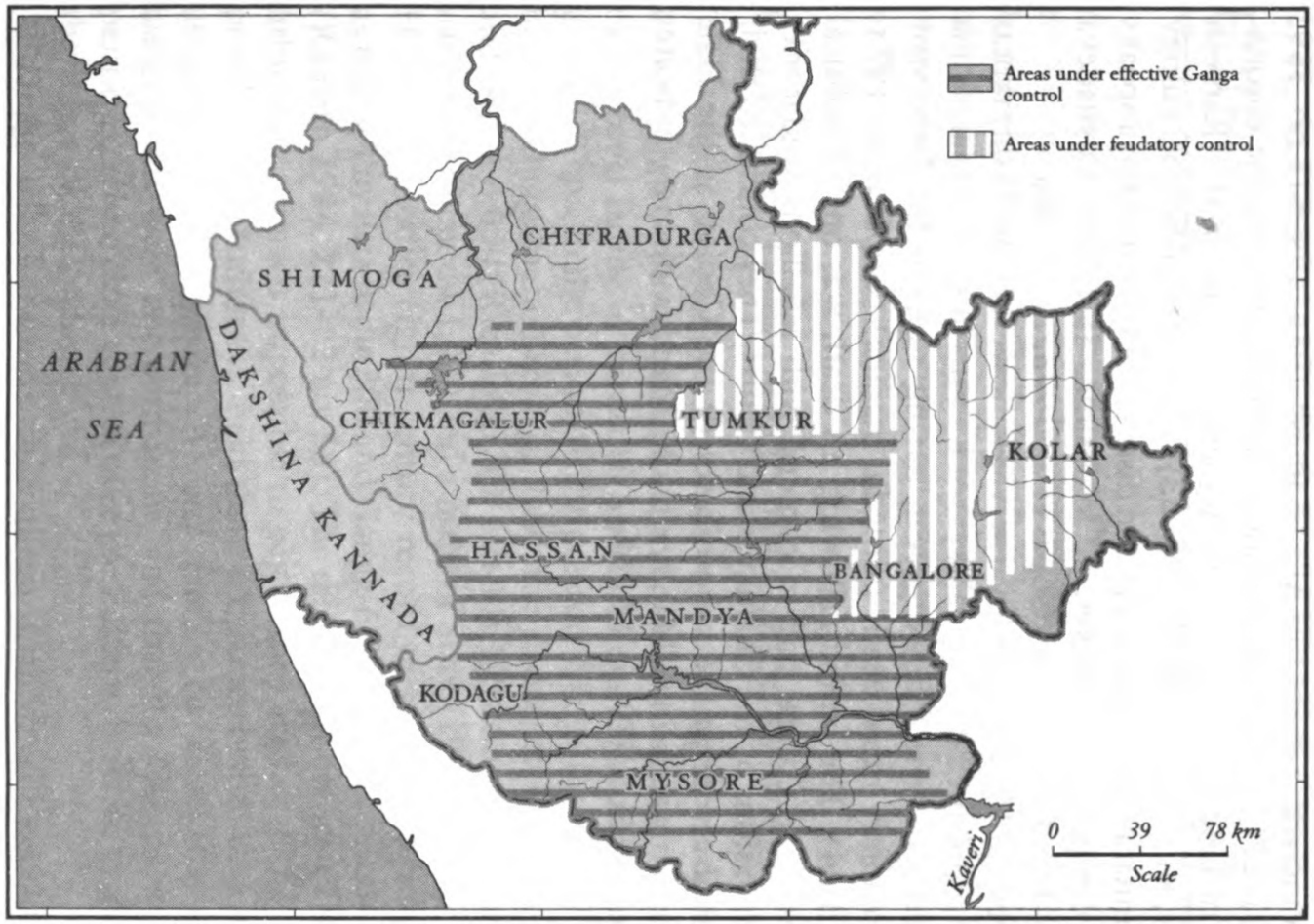
Akalavarsha Krishna II, Pracaṇḍa Daṇḍanāyaka Shri Damapaiya, was stationed at Manne as general of the entire south (Nilakantha Sastri, 1958, Tm 78). As mentioned earlier, Manne or Manyapura was an eighth-century Ganga capital. That a Rashtrakuta feudatory was stationed there with an army, and made grants,[24] would indubitably indicate the Rashtrakuta overlordship over Gangavadi.

There is no doubt of the subordination of the Gangas to the Rashtrakutas under Butuga II and his successors, Marula and Marasimha II. The Atakur inscription (Maddur taluk, Mandya district) commences with a reference to the reign of Krishna III Rashtrakuta (Gopal et al. 1979, 8: Mu 42) and goes on to record the grant of Banavase-12,000, Belvola-300, Purigere-300, Kisukad-70 and Bage nāḍu-70 to Butuga II for having slain Rajaditya Chola in battle. The Kudlur plates (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) of Marasimha II enumerate other services rendered by Butuga II to his overlord: "He recovered from Lalleya the elephants, horses, the white umbrella and throne and restored them to Krishna" (Ramesh 1984, 411–32 no. 138, ll. 85–86). He is also said to have "driven Emaganduga from his country, burnt down Tanjapuri, Nalkelo and other fortresses and given Krishna lordly elephants and horses" (Ramesh 1984, 411–32 no. 138, ll. 89–90). No doubt a goodly share of this booty was appropriated by Butuga himself.

His son and successor Marula was the nephew and son-in-law of Krishna III. One of the highlights of his reign (which apparently was quite uneventful) was the bestowal by the emperor *(sakala mahīśa)* of the Madanavatara umbrella *(chatram)*, never before obtained by an other king (Ramesh 1984, 411–32 no. 138, ll. 95–96).

His younger brother and successor Marasimha II was crowned in person by Krishna III "on the grounds that he was quite worthy of union with the goddess of the Ganga Kingdom inherited from his ancestors" (Ramesh 1984, 411–32 no. 138, ll. 124–25, 141–42) and that his head was "adorned with the ornaments of unswerving devotion and allegiance to his lord" (1984, 411–32

[24] The grants *per se* were made by a general (daṇḍanāyaka) of one Durvinita Ganga, together with certain corporate groups such as the Bhattavuttar-1,000, Beya-300 and Oleya-500, but apparently with Damapaiya's consent.



Map 3 Central Dominion of the Gangas and Areas under the Control of Feudatories Post–AD 800

no. 138, ll. 136–37). The Kukkanur plates (Yelburga taluk, Raichur district) reveal that Marasimha II fully justified this faith. He set out on a northern expedition on the orders of king Cholantaka and claims to have vanquished the Gurjara king Lalla, the lord of the Vindhyan ranges and Alla (Ramesh 1984, 494–513 no. 159, ll. 121–27). He is further lauded for having ensured the coronation of king Indraraja IV on the death of Krishna III (Ramesh 1984, 411–32 no. 138, ll. 128–33). The Shravanabelgola eulogy (Channarayapatna taluk, Hassan district) of Chavundaraya speaks of a campaign undertaken by Marasimha II against Vajviladeva by order of king Indra (Gopal et al. 1973, 2: SB 388).

Despite Marasimha's loyal services, however, the Rashtrakutas were supplanted by the Chalukyas of Kalyana in AD 973. Marasimha passed away the following year, having adopted the Jaina vow of voluntary ritual death *(samādhi maraṇa)* (Gopal et al. 1973, 2: SB 64). The period following his death was one of political unrest. The Gangas had to contend with rebellious feudatories and invasions by the Chalukyas and Cholas. They concluded their political career as the subordinates of the Cholas, as the Hale Budanur inscription (Mandya taluk, Mandya district) indicates (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Md 54).

Chapter III

THE GROWTH OF INTERMEDIARIES— THE CHARACTER OF THE RULING ELITE

An earlier chapter has showed that the political structure of the Ganga principality in the first phase was not very complex. In the eighth century and thereafter, however, there is evidence of the growth of a vast and varied class of intermediaries. This chapter will take up the composition of this class of intermediaries in detail.

Feudatories belonging to the Ganga Lineage

There was a persistent tendency among the Gangas, particularly in the eighth century, to distribute their domain among members of the royal family in particular and collateral Ganga lineages in general. Thus, in the period of Shripurusha Ganga (AD 725–788), his son Duggamara Ereyanga held the nāḍus of Kuvalala-300 and Ganga-6,000 (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 80), Belattur-nāḍu, Pulvaki nāḍu-1,000 Bepodu-1,000 and a nāḍu of Sixty (1905, 10: Sp 57). However, another eighth century record mentions Muthura ... as ruling Kuvalala nāḍu-300 and Ganga-6,000 under Shripurusha (Ramesh 1984, 221–22 no. 53). The relative chronology of these lithic inscriptions is impossible to peg as they are not dated: it is possible that Muthura ... held these territories before they were assigned to Duggamara. At any rate, it is clear that such assignments were not permanent, and that the Gangas in this period exercised close control over the Eastern division, changing the rulers of the nāḍus at will.

Duggamara Ereyanga's chief queen (mahādēvi) Kanchi-abbe ruled Agali under him (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 80). Likewise, Shivamara Ereyanga, another son of Shripurusha, was ruling Kunungil nāḍu (Ramesh 1984, 249–50 no. 68), while Vijayaditya, a prince of royal blood, ruled Asandi nāḍu (Rice 1901, 6: Kd 145).

The Honnudike inscription (Tumkur taluk, Tumkur district) of Shripurusha mentions his father's younger brother, Shivamara Ereyanga, by name. Although he is not mentioned as the ruler of a nāḍu, he made a grant of the income out of the harvest receipts *(suggiyuḷ)* in gold (pon) to the goddess of Ponnudike (Ramesh 1984, 238–39 no. 64). That he could thus dispose of the revenues, apparently without reference to the king, would indicate that he was a territorial or administrative potentate of some importance.

Yet another local ruler belonging to the royal family was Shripurusha's valorous queen *(varā vīrantaṛpuram), Vine ... ttinimmadi,* the ruler of Malavellur. In that capacity she granted exemption from forced labour (biṭṭi), impressment of bullocks *(ettukoḷ),* and tolls on headloads to the Forty and the Twenty of Amasu (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Yl 138).

An inscription from Hemmige (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) from the close of the eighth century AD refers to the reign of Kongani Maraja and mentions the Permānaḍi and his queen *(arasi)* (Gopal et al. 1976, 3: TN 253). Permānaḍi became a common title among Ganga rulers from the reign of Rachamalla I onwards (accession AD 819); in this case, however, it is either Shripurusha or Shivamara II Ganga who is referred to here (Kongani was a title hereditarily attached to all Ganga rulers who came after their founder, Konganivarman). The record registers the remission of the pattondi tax by the Permānaḍi at the request *(besati)* of the queen for two generations of inhabitants of Pemoge (possibly Hemmige). It would appear that Hemmige fell within the jurisdiction of the Permānaḍi himself or that of his queen. The T. Narsipur area would seem to have been within the personal domain of the Gangas at this time, including as it did their capital city of Talakad. Most eighth-century inscriptions from T. Narsipur record grants by Ganga kings themselves, albeit sometimes at the request of their subordinates (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 207).

The systematic distribution of territory among members of the royal family does not appear to have been much in evidence after the reign of Shripurusha Ganga. The Husukuru inscription (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of AD 870–71 is one of the earliest records to refer to the reign of Satyavakya Permānaḍi Rachamalla II and to the rule of Buta-arasa I, his younger brother, over Kongal nāḍu and Punnadu. Buta-arasa is also stated to have worn the chaplet of the crown prince *(yuvarāja paṭṭa)* (Gopal et al.

1974, 3: Nj 385). This is interesting, particularly in the light of the Jaina literary works of the tenth century, which consistently referred to kings crowning their elder sons as sovereigns (adhirāja) and younger sons as crown princes (yuvarāja) before retiring to monasteries. Thus, in Pampa's *Ādipurāṇam*, Vrisabhanatha bestows the rank of king *(rājapadavi)* on Bharata along with the territory of Ayodhya, while Bahubali is given the rank of crown prince *(yuvarājapadavi)* and the territory of Paudanapura (Narasimha Sastri 1980, IX.65). Likewise, in Ponna's *Shāntipurāṇam*, ministers crown Aparajita king while his younger brother Anantavirya is anointed crown prince (yuvarāja) after their father Stimitasagara adopts the vows of a Jaina monk *(digambaravrata)* (Nagarajayya 1982, I.96; 1982, II.1). In the *Nēmināṭha Purāṇam*, Suravira crowns his elder son AndhakaVrishni as king and Vrishni Narapati, his younger son, as the crown prince before retiring to the monastery (Kulkarni 1975, 330). Anointing brothers as crown princes predisposed them to succeed to the throne. Ganga history has several instances of such collateral succession The Husakuru inscription indicates that the literary texts reflected a current practice. Rachamalla II was eventually succeeded by Buta-arasa's son, Nitimarga Ereyanga II—one of the many collateral shifts in succession in their history.

It is the Kurgal inscription (Piriyapatna taluk, Mysore district), however, that illuminates the true continuation of the practice of dividing the territory among members of the royal family. This inscription, from the close of the ninth century, refers to the reign of Permānaḍi (Rachamalla II), while Ereyanga II was ruling Kongal nāḍu-8,000 and Butuga I's queen (arasi) Paramabbe, was ruling Kurgallu (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Pp 28). Like the Kolar inscriptions of Duggamara Ereyanga, the Kurgal record not only depicts the distribution of territory among the various members of the royal family but also a feudatory hierarchy within it.

Several records from the Mysore district, datable to the closing years of the ninth or the early years of the tenth centuries, refer to the joint rule of Rachamalla II and Ereyanga II but do not specify Ereyanga's territorial holdings. Thus, the Iggali inscription (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of the twenty-second regnal year of Rachamalla II (AD 892) registers a grant of a kalnāḍ to the family of Racheya Ganga, who died fighting at Uttarillaga against

the Nolambas. The grant was made jointly by Rachamalla II and Ereyanga II (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 204). This inscription is significant in that it records a grant to a minor chieftain of Ganga lineage. The Gattavadi plates (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of AD 904 also refer to the joint rule of Rachamalla II and Ereyanga II, but again omit mention of Ereyanga's territorial domain (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 402). An ambiguous reference to their joint rule comes from the tenth-century Mudahalli inscriptions (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district), which record the grant of Adiraru-12 to four individuals who died fighting Cho...li Mutta-arasa. The grant was made by Permāḍi, his queen (mahādēvi) and Ereyanga together with the Aysāmantas (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 197). The editors of *Epigraphia Carnatica* identify the grantors with Rachamalla II, his chief queen and Ereyanga II (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: 103).

In contrast, the Kattemanuganahalli inscription (Heggadedevanakote taluk, Mysore district) of the same period mentions only Nitimarga Permānaḍi (the regnal title of Ereyanga II) as the reigning king, but then specifically mentions Ereyanga as ruling Nugu nāḍu and Navale nāḍu (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 5). In discussing the empire of Charles V in sixteenth-century Europe, G. R. Elton has pointed out that Charles changed his designation from domain to domain within his disparate realm. He was Duke in the former Burgundian holdings in the Low Country, King in Spain and Emperor in Germany, and he dealt with each domain through its separate and distinct institutions (Elton 1963, 40–41). Perhaps the same insight can be applied here as well. The nāḍus, or at least some of them, fostered such a strong corporate regional identity that Ereyanga, though the overlord of Gangavadi as a whole, had to approach such units as Nugu nāḍu and Navale nāḍu separately as their local ruler. This surmise is further strengthened by the Hiranandi inscription (Heggadedevanakote taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century. This interesting epigraph records the accession of Rachamalla III and the challenge to his rule posed by one Bhuvanaditya, who demanded half the kingdom and half the treasure. Thereupon the Five Sāmantas (Aysāmanta) and the pergaḍes declared that none other than Rachamalla would rule over Bayal nāḍu and fought against Bhuvanayta (the tadbhava form of Bhuvanaditya) at Magundi (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 23). Although Bhuvanaditya had

demanded half the kingdom, the subordinates of Bayal nāḍu were clearly more concerned with the issue of who the local ruler would be. Bayal nāḍu, too, thus appeared to have had a strong regional identity, as did Nugu nāḍu and Navale nāḍu. It is interesting, moreover, to note that all these units belonged to the same geographical area of the upper valley of the river Kabbani and its tributary, the Nugu.

There does not seem to be any evidence for the distribution of territory among the members of the Ganga royal family after Ereyanga II. The Elkuru inscription (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of AD 999–1000 records a joint grant by Nitimarga Gobinda-arasa and his queen Prthuvabba-arasi to the Twelve of Elavakkaluru (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 82), but there is no evidence that Prthuvabba-arasi held a separate fief of her own.

There are several epigraphic references to Ganga chiefs of collateral lineages. The Tayuru inscription (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of the ninth century refers to the reign of Pilduvi Ganga, the son of Asaga Ganga (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 205). The editor of the *Archaeological Survey of Mysore* Annual Report for 1930 has suggested that this is in fact Prthivipati I, the son of Shivamara II Ganga (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: 101), although no other epigraph gives Shivamara II the title of Asaga Ganga. The territory ruled by him is also not specified. Similarly, the Bevinakuppe hero-stone (Pandavapura taluk, Mandya district) of the ninth century mentions one Prthivi Ganga, in whose presence his concubine (sūḷe) Birakka's son, Erekalinga, was voluntarily beheaded for an unknown reason (Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Ppu 253). Prthivi Ganga has not been identified, nor his domain defined. The Manne plates of Rachamalla I (Nelamangala taluk, Bangalore district) of AD 817 also refer to a Ganga prince named Mahendra, at whose instance the Doddavadi village was granted as a gift to a temple (dēva dāna) (Settar 1976–77, 3: 32–34 no. 4).

A palaeographically datable inscription from the close of the ninth century from Biligere (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) registers a grant of rice (nellakki sollage) to the Mahājanas of Kudalur by Shri Vinayaditya, whose titles, among others, are *Atisaya Gaṅga* (Pre-eminent Ganga) and *Gaṅgara Bhīma* (Bhima among the Gangas) (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 244).

It would appear from these titles that he belonged to the Ganga lineage. No overlord is mentioned, nor is the area ruled by him specified.

A similar grant is registered in the Nelamane inscription (Srirangapatna taluk, Mandya district) from the close of the ninth century, wherein a chief of the Ganga kula, whose name is lost, granted a sollage of rice (beḷiyakki) for the purposes of feeding a number of people (Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Sr 94). Again, the territorial domain of this chief is not specified. The Hiriyur inscription (Kadur taluk, Chikmagalur district) of the same period records the death of one Kali Ganga, the son of Anunga-arasa of Kilvuli, in the battle against Ayyapa at Kalikatti (Rice 1901, 6: Kd 140). It is not clear whether Kali Ganga actually belonged to the Ganga lineage; the name and title of his father in particular throws some doubt on the assumption. The Uppavalli hero-stone (Chikmagalur taluk, Chikmagalur district) of AD 959 also mentions a Kali Ganga who was ruling over Devalige nāḍu-70 (Rice 1901, 6: Cm 42). While it is possible that he was of Ganga extraction, this is by no means certain.

In contrast, two eighth-century inscriptions from the Bowringpet taluk of Kolar district clearly refer to the rule of Shrivibhava Mutta-arasa of Ganganvaya over Elenagar nāḍu-70, Avanya nāḍu-30 and Pomkundu-12. Both records mention battles with a Bana chief in which certain tenants (okkal) died and received posthumous grants of land as kalnāḍ (Rice 1905, 10: Bp 13; Ramesh 1984, 257 no. 72). Similarly, the Jinnahalli inscription (Heggadedevanakote taluk, Mysore district) records the death of Machiya-arasa, the son of Ereyangappa, in a battle against Nolambadhiraja. The hero is described as *Gaṅgānvayamūlastambha* and *Gaṅgavaṁśādhipati*, and he died fighting at the orders of Guttiya Ganga (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 26), a title of Marasimha II (Sheik Ali 1976, 136). Gopal et al. identify Guttiya Ganga with Ereyanga II, and assign this inscription to the close of the ninth century (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: 447). Although this is a doubtful identification, both Shrivibhava Mutta-arasa and Machiya-arasa are undeniably of Ganga descent even though the relationship of both chiefs to the main branch of the Gangas cannot be discerned. While the territory ruled by Machiya-arasa is not specified, there are clear allusions to Shrivibhava Mutta-arasa's estates.

A tenth-century record from Hiribidanur (Gauribidanur taluk, Kolar district) mentions Nanniya Ganga, the son of *Gaṅga kula tilaka koḷālapuraparamēśvara* Shrimat Pilduvipati (Rice 1905: Gd 4). The latter is probably Prthivipati II Ganga, the ally of Parantaka I Chola. Nanniya Ganga, however, appears to be subordinate to Anniga Bira Nolamba, the son of Nolambadhiraja Ayyapadeva, whose name comes first in the record—a position assigned to the reigning king. The inscription goes on to state that Nanniya Ganga's champion *(gaṇḍa)* joined Bira Nolamba in a battle against Shantara at Isavur, slew the enemy and brought his head and shield to the king (āḷdana) before dying himself. In appreciation of his valour Bira Nolamba granted Piriya Bidanur in Kilka nāḍu as kalnāḍ. The grant was apparently to be maintained by the Gangas and their descendants. Although the information that Bira Nolamba's name appears before Nanniya Ganga's in this record and that the Nolamba is referred to as the commemorated hero's ruler (āḷdana) would indicate that the Nolamba was the overlord, the fact that Nanniya Ganga's subordination is not unambiguously mentioned as is usually the case might indicate that the two chiefs were merely allies, possibly making common cause against Shantara. This surmise is strengthened by the Tatanakallu inscription (Gauribidanur taluk, Kolar district) of the tenth century, which once again mentions Nanniya Ganga. This time the Ganga's servant [?], Anniya Gaunda, fought against Bira Nolamba's invading army and died. (Both Nanniya Ganga and Bira Nolamba seem to have been independent chiefs, at times co-operating and at times in conflict with each other.) In this record the grant for the deceased hero is made by the okkal of an unspecified village (ūr) and its Mahājanas (Shama Sastri 1925, 74–75 no. 86).

An inscription from Belur (Mandya taluk, Mandya district) dated AD 997 mentions a Ganga *Maṇḍalēśvara* and a Ganga Permānaḍi, the latter being the ruler of Kundur nāḍu (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Md 67). It is possible that both refer to Gobindara Rakkasa Ganga, the reigning Ganga monarch, being specifically referred to in the latter case as the ruler of the nāḍu to which the grant pertains. Alternatively, Ganga Permānaḍi might have belonged to a collateral branch, although the title of Permānaḍi was usually applied only to scions of the main branch. It is interesting that this record gives the Ganga only the title of Maṇḍalēśvara instead of the sovereign titles of Mahārājādhirāja

and Paramēśvara Bhatara. Would this indicate subordination to a greater power? The fragmentary reference at the beginning of this inscription to *Tribhuvanamalla*, a badge or title of honour *(biruda)* of the imperial Chalukyas, might in fact suggest such subordination. On the other hand, the Hale Budanur inscription (Mandya taluk, Mandya district) of AD 1024, which is dated in the regnal years of Rajendra Chola, signifying his suzerainty, gives Gobindara Rakkasa Ganga all the sovereign titles (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Md 54). It is therefore difficult to come to a conclusion on the status of a ruler on the basis of titles only.

In the *Pampa Bhārata*, Arjuna, after his coronation, bestows the nāḍus of their choice on his brothers and Yuyutsu (Anantharangachar 1977, XIV.36 vacana). Such a distribution of territory among the members of the lineage appears, then, to have been an established practice even in the tenth century. This practice is clearly discerned in the case of the Gangas in the eighth century, when they held close control over most of Gangavadi by such means as well as by transferring feudatories from one territorial unit to another. This hold subsequently weakened even as the practice waned, a fact attested to by its mention in only a few records. The majority of references to Gangas of collateral branches come from the post-eighth-century period, by which time the Gangas had lost effective control over the Eastern division, their earliest power base. Other lineages, particularly the Banas and Nolambas, had supplanted them there.

Other Ruling Lineages

THE BANAS

T. V. Mahalingam is of the view that the Banas had a base in the Kolar area in the mid fourth century AD, from which they were ousted by the Gangas (Mahalingam 1951, 150–60). However, the earliest authentic Bana records date only from the eighth century. The Mudiyanur copper-plates dated Saka 261, Vilambi *samvatsara*[1] (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 157) is probably spurious, since

[1] Vilambi is the name of one of the years of the sixty-year Jupiter cycle. Samvatsara is year in Sanskrit.

the use of the Jupiter cycle and of the numerical suffixes to geographical units are both features datable to the post-eighth-century period in southern Karnataka. Moreover, references to Konganivarman routing the Banas come from very late inscriptions. One such reference occurs in the Udayendiram plates of Prthivipati II of AD 921, which state that Konganivarman was anointed to conquer Banamandala (Krishna Sastri 1920, 375 no. 76). It is possible that this reference might have been intended as a legitimation of Prthivipati's own conquest and displacement of the Banas from their territory.[2]

The Tatikallu inscription (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district), assigned by Rice to c. AD 715, refers to the reign of Mahavali Bana-arasa. No overlord is mentioned. The inscription records the death of a hero who died defending cattle (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 261). Likewise, the Sisandra inscription (Kolar taluk, Kolar district) of the mid eighth century mentions Mahabali Bana-arasa as the ruler of Ganga-6,000 (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 235). The Hulikunda inscription (Bowringpet taluk, Kolar district) of the same period also refers to Mahabali Bana-arasa as the ruler of Ganga-6,000 without mentioning an overlord. The Bana appears as the superior of a minor chieftain named Nagadeva, who was probably ruling Pomkundu-12 (Rice 1905, 10: Bp 48). The Bana's claim to rule over Ganga-6,000 independently is interesting in the light of other Kolar epigraphs which mention Muthura ... (Ramesh 1984, 221–22 no. 53) and Duggamara Ereyanga (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 80) as rulers of that unit under the suzerainty of Shripurusha Ganga in the same period. Similar conflicting claims to the rule over the Banavasi-12,000 unit have been noted earlier in this book. It would seem that the Ganga hold over this region in Shripurusha's reign was not as secure as it would appear from a perusal of the Ganga records; the Banas held at least some portion of Ganga-6,000 independently of the Gangas. The Tallapalli and Pilavara records (both from Bowringpet taluk, Kolar district) (Rice 1905, 10: Bp 13; Ramesh 1984, 257 no. 72)

[2] In a similar fashion, the eulogies of the Kalyana Chalukyas attribute the conquest of the Rashtrakutas to the Vatapi Chalukyas, a fact which the Vatapi Chalukya records themselves do not mention (Kulkarni 1985, II.7).

cited earlier would also support this emerging picture of a Ganga–Bana conflict over the territories in the Eastern division.

Ganga–Bana relations were not always hostile in this period. The Hullēnahalli copper-plates (Mandya taluk Mandya district) of Shripurusha Ganga refer to Dindigara of Bana lineage as the subordinate ruler of Olnulu in Karbappu nāḍu. At his request, the Kovalavettu village was granted to three brahmanas as brahmadēya by Shripurusha (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Md 14). Likewise, the Devarahalli plates (Nagamangala taluk, Mandya district) of AD 776 record the grant of Ponnalli village in Nirggunda viṣaya and of other lands to a Jaina temple at Shripura constructed at the instance of Kundacci, the queen of Paramagula, the Pṛthivī Nirggundarāja of Bana lineage. The grant itself was made at the instance of Paramagula (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ng 149). Both Dindigara and Paramagula were thus subordinates of Shripurusha and were ruling territories in the Western division.

The Eastern division was the Banas' main base. Several records from the Shrinivaspur and Mulbagal taluks of Kolar district from towards the close of the eighth century refer to the reign of Vikramaditya Jayameru Bana Vidyadhara, also known as Prabhumeru, over the earth—an expression of independence. One of these records, a hero-stone from Aralukote (Shrinivaspur taluk, Kolar district), records a battle with Kaduvatti's entire force *(samasta bala)* in which his subordinate Viramahameru died fighting (Rice 1905, 10: Sp 6). Kaduvatti is the dynastic name of the Pallavas in Tamil. It would seem that the Pallavas were attempting to expand their circle of influence by fishing in the troubled waters of southern Karnataka, where at this time the Rashtrakutas had supplanted the Gangas, perhaps with some aid from the Pallavas. The Manne plates (Nelamangala taluk, Bangalore district) of Yuvarāja Marasimha state that Shivamara II Ganga had been jointly crowned by Govinda III Rashtrakuta and Nandivarman Pallavamalla (Ramesh 1984, 190–205 no. 49). Another hero-stone from Aralukote itself records the death of Viyala Vijyadhara in a battle against the *ḍāmarigas* at the order *(besase)* of his lord (āḷdana) Prabhumeru (Rice 1905, 10: Sp 5). It is not clear who the ḍāmarigas were. The word *ḍāmara* means a riot or an affray (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Ḍāmara*). Ḍāmariga by extension might mean rioters. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhana refers to a class of landlords or wealthy cultivators in ancient Kashmir

known as Ḍāmara (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Ḍāmara*). This is unlikely to apply to southern Karnataka, where an analogous class of wealthy cultivator-landlords was better known as gāvuṇḍa. At all events, the ḍāmarigas of the Aralukote inscription appear to have been a formidable force. The deceased hero received the village Kulanellur with all exemptions.

From the ninth century onwards the Banas appear to have been overshadowed by the Nolambas, whose inscriptions outnumber those of all other lineages in the Eastern division. But the Banas retained a foothold in the Mulbagal taluk area from which a series of Bana records of the ninth and tenth centuries have been recovered.[3]

The Banas' relations with the Gangas and the Nolambas appear to have been changeable. A period of amity between the Gangas and the Nolambas followed after the restoration of the Gangas and to the exclusion of the Banas. It is probably to this phase in the ninth century that the Madivala inscription (Kolar taluk, Kolar district) belongs. This epigraph states that Nitimarga Permānaḍi was ruling Gangavadi-96,000, while Nolambadhiraja was ruling Ganga-6,000. At the Nolamba's orders Pompallavodeyar, the lord of Bengada *(bēṅgaḍa nātha)*, marched with his forces upon Murggepadi and fought against Bana-arasa. Both monarchs made a posthumous grant in appreciation of his valour (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 79).

While the Madivala inscription indicates that Ganga–Bana relations were hostile in this period, the Bangavadi epigraph (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district) seems to suggest that an alliance, even if a short-lived one, existed among the three powers. They appear to have joined together to fight against Mayinadiya Dadiga in the battle of Mandavu (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 228). Likewise, the Vartur inscription (Bangalore taluk, Bangalore district), also of the ninth century, mentions a Bana chief Anniga, the son of Nijapa of Mahabali vaṁśa, as the subordinate of the Ganga (Rachamalla I Ganga [?]) and of Shivamara Nolamba, the ruler of Morasu nāḍu (Rice 1905, 9: Bn 40).

[3] Rice 1905, 10: Mb 26, 124, 234, 265; 1905, 10: Kl 200 of c. AD 850; 1905, 10: Mb 243, 244 of c. AD 890; 1905, 10: Mb 227 of c. AD 900; 1905, 10: Mb 261 of AD 961, etc.

There are also references from the Western division to chiefs belonging to Bali vaṁśa. While the epigraphs do not describe them as Banas, the fact that the Banas, too, claimed descent from Bali might justify the assumption that these chiefs were Banas. One of these chiefs was Shri Muttara, the Sāmanta of Rachamalla II and Ereyanga II, who fought off an invasion by Nolamba-arasa at Kalikatti. He is highly eulogised as the Dilipa of the world *(bhuvana dilīpa)*, Shudraka among heroes *(kali kali shūdraka)*, the beloved of victory *(jayakke nalla)* and the forehead ornament of Bali vaṁśa (Krishna 1942b, Ak 215). Similarly, the Ganiganur inscription (Yelandur taluk, Mysore district) mentions a Ghanarudra Arakutti of Bali vaṁśa, evidently a subject of Satyavakya Permānaḍi, the reigning king. Arakutti made several land grants for the Arakuttishvara temple, which was evidently constructed on his behalf by Shivasakti Bhatara, the trustee (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Yl 174). There is no mention of the rank enjoyed by Ghanarudra Arakutti nor the territory ruled by him.

The Banas, then, appear as chiefs claiming independent control over the Ganga-6,000 province in the eighth century. In the following two centuries, however, their realm appears to have shrunk under the impact of the expanding Nolamba lineages to mere pockets in the modern Mulbagal taluk. Their relations with the dominant powers of the region fluctuated with time; while the Gangas and Nolambas occasionally waged war against the Banas, they also appear to have cooperated sometimes in the conduct of local wars. Individual Bana chiefs are also mentioned in the records of the Western division, mostly as the subordinates of the Gangas.

THE NOLAMBAS

The earliest certain reference to the Nolambas in extant records comes from the close of the eighth century. The Ganjam copperplates (Srirangapatna taluk, Mandya district) of Yuvarāja Marasimha refer to Kolliya-arasa Kali Nolambadhiraja of Pallavanvaya, who granted Tipperur to Ponnadi, the Oḍeya of Arppola, with Marasimha's permission (Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Sr 66). Another eighth-century record from Hebbalu (Maddur taluk, Mandya district) mentions Nolvabba *rājya* (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Mu 36), which may, perhaps, be a reference to a

Nolamba principality. Likewise, two epigraphs from Kolar district refer to the reign of one Pallava *mārāja* (Rice 1905, 10: Bg 77), and of a chief named Prthivivallabha Pallavarama of Pallavanvaya, who was entitled to the use of the five great instruments *(pañcamahāśabda)*, (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 59). Since the distinctive name of Nolamba is absent in both records it is hard to determine whether the Pallava chiefs referred to were of Pallava stock from Tamil Nadu, or their local offshoots in southeastern Karnataka.

Like the Banas, the Nolambas, too, were based in the Eastern division and became the dominant power there. The names of individual Nolamba rulers are not mentioned in inscriptions until the end of the ninth century, and there are only generic references to Nolambadhiraja of Pallavanvaya, entitled to the pañcamahāśabdas, who presumably was the main representative of this lineage.[4]

The Ghatamaranahalli inscription (Sidlaghatta taluk, Kolar district) of the ninth century, which mentions a Pallava Nolamba-arasa entitled to the pañcamahāśabdas (Krishna 1929, 103 no. 36); the Mallisettipura epigraph (Sidlaghatta taluk, Kolar district) of the beginning of the ninth century AD which refers to Shri Nolamba ruling the kingdom (Rice 1905, 10: Sd 59); and the Hulikunda inscription (Bowringpet taluk, Kolar district) of c. AD 880, which mentions Manja Nolamba as the reigning king (Rice 1905, 10: Bp 41) perhaps represent collateral Nolamba chiefs. Likewise, the Dunturu record (Kankanahalli taluk, Bangalore district) from the beginning of the tenth century AD mentions a minor Nolamba chieftain named Senemara whose son Mendanna's death in a cattle raid is commemorated (Rice 1905, 9: Kk 152). The Vartur inscription (Bangalore taluk, Bangalore district) of the ninth century, which mentions Nolamba Shivamara as the ruler of Morasu nāḍu and the subordinate of (Ganga) Permānaḍi (Rice 1905, 9: Bn 40), has been referred to earlier.

[4] For instance, Rice 1905, 10: Bp 45 of c. AD 820; 1905, 10: Mb 248 of c. AD 860; 1905, 10: Sp 27, Sd 32 of c. AD 870; 1905, 10: Sd 33, Mb 102, Sp 50, CB 26, Gd 5, Ct 36 of c. AD 880, etc.

Nolamba inscriptions begin alluding to the names of monarchs from the last quarter of the ninth century onwards. Mahendradhiraja is one of the earliest Nolambas to be mentioned by name. He was the son of Nolambadhiraja Polalchora by Jayabbe, the daughter of Rachamalla II Ganga (Rice 1904, 12: Si 38). Polalchora and his immediate predecessors are named only in an inscription from Hemavati dated AD 942–43 (Rice 1904, 12: Si 28). It is probably Polalchora who was ruling over Ganga-6,000 under Nitimarga Ereyanga (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 79). Mahendradhiraja is said to have ascended the throne after destroying rival claimants *(dayiga)* Coramma and others (Rice 1904, 12: Si 38). He established the temple of Mahendreshvara at Baragur and granted Nandur in Sire nāḍu for its maintenance and the conduct of worship within it. Another record from Baragur (Sira taluk, Tumkur district) of c. AD 880 mentions several queens of Mahendra, such as Bija(ya) Mahādevi, Parama Mahādēvi, Akkabbe and Dombabbe, who were ruling over Oreyuru, Dharmapolala, Siyavur and Tailoka poḷala respectively (Rice 1904, 12: Si 24). This epigraph thus attests to distribution of territory among members of the royal family. Interestingly, the queens appear to have granted lands to a basadi; it is significant that women patronised Jainism to a greater extent than men. This issue will be taken up later in the book.

Apart from the mention in the Baragur records, Mahendradhiraja is also referred to in the c. AD 880 Nidugal inscription (Pavagada taluk,Tumkur district). This record also mentions one Bidi Cora-arasa of Pallavanvaya, who is said to have constructed a temple to Chandrasekara (Rice 1904, 12: Pg 45). Similarly, an inscription from Karubele (Bowringpet taluk, Kolar district) states that Mahendradhiraja was ruling Ganga-6,000 (Rice 1905,10: Bp 64).

Although Mahendradhiraja was the son of a Ganga princess, Ganga–Nolamba relations were far from cordial in this period. The Doddabelavangala hero-stone (Dodda Ballapura taluk, Bangalore district) of c. AD 880 and the Muttukadahalli (Chintamani taluk, Kolar district) hero-stone of c. AD 890 both refer to the reign *(arasugeyye)* of Mahendra, and to battles with the Gangas in which the latter appear to have been worsted (Rice 1905, 9: DB 3; 1905, 10: Ct 116). The Begur inscription (Bangalore taluk, Bangalore district) of Ereyanga II also mentions a battle

with Bira Mahendra, in which Nagattara, a subordinate of the Ganga, died fighting (Rice 1905, 9: Bn 83). The Settihalli (Sidlaghatta taluk, Kolar district) (Rice 1905, 10: Sd 39) and Venkatapura (Shrinivaspur taluk, Kolar district) (1905, 10: Sp 19) hero-stones of c. AD 880, which mention Mayindama-arasa as the reigning king, might also belong to the same Nolamba monarch whose domain covered most of Kolar district and parts of Bangalore and Tumkur districts. In addition, Dharmapuri (in Tamil Nadu) and its adjoining areas were also held by the Nolambas at this time (Krishna Sastri 1909–10: 54–70 no. 14).

Two inscriptions from Avani (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district) record the death of Mahendradhiraja. His stepmother, Divalabba-arasi, a Kadamba princess, built a temple, Nolamba Narayaneshvara, in his memory (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 38, 50). He was apparently succeeded by Ayyapadeva Nolambadhiraja, his son. The Koyira hero-stone (Devanahalli taluk, Bangalore district), which mentions *Shrimad* Ayyapa as the reigning king, is dated AD 909 (Rice 1905, 9: Dv 10). Another inscription from Baragur (Sira taluk, Tumkur district), which mentions Ayyapadeva as the ruler, is dated AD 919. His queens *(mano nayana vallabheyar)*, Nagiyabbe and Neleyabbe, granted lands for two temples situated at Baragur (Rice 1904, 12: Si 39). Most other records are undated but palaeographically assigned to the beginning of the tenth century. This is the case with the Hulikunda inscription (Bowringpet taluk, Kolar district) (Rice 1905, 10: Bp 42), the Hebbata inscription (Shrinivaspur taluk, Kolar district) (1905, 10: Sp 29) and the Camanahalli inscription (Malur taluk, Kolar district) (1905, 10: Mr 52). All these inscriptions are hero-stones, the first two commemorating deaths in cattle raids and the last a conflict between a local ruler, Sitipendrana-arasa of Navilur, and Ayyapadeva.

Ayyapadeva's son, Bira Nolamba, appears to have been the next ruler in the line of succession. Two of his records from Kurubur (Chintamani taluk, Kolar district) are dated AD 931 (Rice 1905, 10: Ct 43, 44). Both record cash grants to the 108 Mahājanas of Kurumbur by the sons of Nagamayya, the Oḍeya of Komaramangala. Bira Nolamba's realm seems to have included the taluks of Shrinivaspur (Rice 1905, 10: Sp 58,64), Kolar (1905, 10: Kl 9, 57), Gauribidanur (1905, 10: Gd 4, 85, 86; Shama Sastri 1925, 74– 75 no. 86), and Chintamani (Rice 1905,

10: Ct 43, 44) in Kolar district, and the Sira (1904, 12: Si 59), Maddagiri (1904,12: Mi 71) and Pavagada (1904, 12: Pg 80) taluks of Tumkur district. His relationship with Nanniya Ganga of the collateral Ganga line has been discussed earlier in the chapter. It was also Anniga Bira Nolamba who, according to the Kudlur plates (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) of Marasimha II, is said to have been defeated by Ganga Rachamalla III and reduced to the status of a vassal (Ramesh 1984, 411–32 no. 138, ll. 81–82); Anniga Bira Nolamba's records, however, do not betray any signs of such subordination.

Bira Nolamba was succeeded by his younger brother, Dilipayya Nolamba. This chief bore the titles and birudas of *Pṛthivivallabha*, *Pallava kula tilaka*, Iṛiva Noḷambādhirāja and *Palaroḍe gaṇḍa*, and is said to have been entitled to the pañcamahāśabdas, according to the Hemavati inscription of AD 942–43 (Rice 1904, 12: Si 28). His domain included Avani in Mulbagal taluk (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 51, 52), Tekal (Malur taluk) (Krishna 1930, 134 no. 8), Hebbata (Shrinivaspur taluk) (Rice 1905, 10: Sp 25) and Hulikunda (Bowringpet taluk) (1905, 10: Bp 40, 43, 44) in Kolar district and Sira taluk (1904, 12: Si 28, 35) in Tumkur district. Apart from this, several inscriptions from the Kolar, Tumkur and Bangalore districts refer to Iṛiva Noḷambādhirāja, one of the titles of Dilipayya Nolamba (Rice 1904, 12: Si 14, Mi 39; 1905, Mb 31, 105; 1905, 9: Ht 37; 1905, 10: Kl 158).

However, the descendants of Nolambadhiraja Polalchora are not the only Nolamba chieftains attested to at the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth centuries; an inscription from Kodlapura (Maddagiri taluk, Tumkur district) dated AD 897–98 refers to the reign of Pṛthivivallabha Noḷambādhirāja Nolipayya, who was entitled to the pañcamahāśabdas (Rice 1904, 12: Mi 52). He appears to have reigned until the middle of the tenth century, since his Tumbadi inscription (Maddagiri taluk, Tumkur district) has been palaeographically assigned to that period (Rice 1904, 12: Mi 27). This inscription refers to a battle at Bidirur with Butuga (the Ganga [?]) in which Ponniga of Tumbevadi participated at the order *(besadoḷ)* of Ankayya, the son of Nolambadhiraja Nolipayya.

While the records from Tumkur consistently attribute only the title of Noḷambādhirāja to Nolipayya, two records from Kolar, palaeographically assignable to the mid tenth century, also give

him the title of Iṟiva Noḷambādhirāja. Of these, the Gundlahalli epigraph (Kolar taluk, Kolar district) gives Nolipayya the titles of *Ēkavākya*, Noḷambādhirāja and *Iṟiva Noḷamba*, with a claim to be entitled to the pañcamahāśabdas. The inscription further mentions Vikramaditya Tiruvayya as the ruler of the Ganga-6,000 unit as a subordinate of Nolipayya (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 198). Tiruvayya, who is described as *Vaidumba Śikhāmaṇi*, is also mentioned in the Betamangala inscription (Bowringpet taluk Kolar district) of Nolipayya; in this record Nolipayya is described as Iṟiva Noḷambādhirāja (Rice 1905, 10: Bp 4).

It is difficult to determine whether the inscriptions mentioning only the title be ascribed to Nolipayya or to Dilipayya, since the title of Iṟiva Noḷambādhirāja is ascribed to both of them. The extent of their domains also cannot be precisely ascertained on this account, nor the relationship between Nolipayya and Mahendradhiraja and his scions. While Dilipayya's inscriptions by and large portray him as an independent ruler, the Muddalahalli inscription (Chintamani taluk, Kolar district) of AD 956 [?] suggests that he was subordinate to Nolipayya (Rice 1905, 10: Ct 143). The last reference to Iṟiva Noḷambādhirāja comes from the Haralakunte hero-stone (Kolar taluk, Kolar district), which is dated AD 966 (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 245). Since Nolipayya was ruling from AD 897–98 onwards, this record is more likely to belong to Dilipayya. Nolipayya's last certain date is AD 951, to which year the Aruru inscription (Chintamani taluk, Kolar district) belongs. This records a grant by Nolamba and Tiruvayya (the Vaidumba) of ten koḷagas of waste land at Ane-ur as a donation (dēvabhōga) to the Bhimeshvara temple (Rice 1905, 10: Ct 49). The gaps in the Muddalahalli inscription throw some doubt on its date; if it is indeed assignable to AD 956 (Saka 88), then this would be the last known reference to Nolipayya.

The Uttanur epigraph (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district) of AD 968 records the coronation *(paṭṭamgaṭṭi)* of Nanni Nolamba (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 122). It was possibly Nanni Nolamba, together with collateral Nolamba chiefs, who was defeated and perhaps killed by Marasimha II Ganga who then adopted the title of Noḷambakulāntaka (Gopal et al. 1973, 2: SB 64; Kulkarni 1975, 4). The Ganga subsequently asserted his authority in the Eastern division for the first time in the tenth century. The Halahalli (Malur taluk, Kolar district) (Krishna 1930, 137 no. 12) and Hulikunda

(Bangarpet taluk, Kolar district) (Rice 1905, 10: Bp 47) hero-stones both refer to the reign of Marasinghadeva (II) in recording the death of local heroes in defence of buffaloes and cattle.

However, in spite of adopting the grandiose title of Noḷambakulāntaka, Marasimha does not seem to have been successful in wiping out the Nolambas, at least in the Eastern division. An inscription from Melagani (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district) dated AD 974 states that Nolambadhiraja Corayya and his father *(tande)* received the news of Marasimha's death (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 84); it seems likely that it is Corayya who is being referred to by the title of Noḷambādhirāja in the Kandagrama inscription (Chikka-Ballapura taluk, Kolar district) of AD 977 (Rice 1905, 10: CB 45).

Two hero-stones from Hadakanahalli (Hosakote taluk, Bangalore district) point to the existence of collateral branches of the Nolambas, and of conflict among them. One of these refers to the reign of Nolambadhiraja and records the death of a Nolamba-arasa in a battle, apparently against the Nolamba chief of Chola Bijayitamangala (Rice 1905, 9: Ht 47). The other hero-stone records the valour of Nolamba-arasa's retainer, Mallapannara, and his elder brother, Kavaliya Ranugayya, possibly in the same battle (Rice 1905, 9: Ht 48). Two other references to Nolamba chiefs from the Eastern division in the post-AD 975 period come from hero-commemoration stones at Hemavati. The first records the death of Uttiga, a soldier of Nolamba Permāḍi and Sagabba-arasi, in a battle against the Gangas (Rice 1904, 12: Si 26). The second hero-stone refers to the reign of Ahavamalla Nolambadhiraja and records the death of one Pocayya in a local skirmish (Rice 1904, 12: Si 29).

Although the Nolambas were largely based in the Eastern division, which came to be known as Nolambavadi by the close of the tenth century (Rice 1905, 10: Sp 59), there are references to Nolamba chiefs from the Western division as well. As mentioned earlier, the earliest reference to a Nolamba comes from a Mandya inscription. One Nolamba chief appears to have been based in Asandi nāḍu as the Hire-Basur inscription (Kadur taluk, Chikmagalur district) indicates: the epigraph records the death of Marasimha Gāvuṇḍa in a battle against Nolamba of Asandi nāḍu. The deceased hero was given the village of Basanur with all exemptions (Rice 1901, 6: Kd 141). This is possibly the same

Nolamba ruler who was beaten back by Shri Muttara, the sāmanta of Ereyanga II who was now ruling Asandi nāḍu (Krishna 1942b, Ak 215).

Two other inscriptions from Hassan district, the Didaga hero-stone (Channarayapatna taluk) of AD 970 and the Nerilage hero-stone (Arsikere taluk) of AD 971–72 mention battles fought by Noḷambakulāntaka Marasingha Permānaḍi (II) against the Nolambas. The Didaga hero-stone mentions a battle at Ulanur in which Asagayya of Panaravadi was killed fighting with Mahāsāmanta Lesayya. His son, Sankaragonda, received a grant as kalnāḍ (Rice 1902, 5: Cn 267). It is not clear where the Nolamba adversary of this record was based since the location of Ulanur is not specified. The Nerilage inscription also records the death of a hero, Annavasayya, in a battle against the Nolambas and the grant in perpetuity of Nerilage village as a kalnāḍ to his son Butuga (Krishna 1942b, Ak 237). Once again, the absence of data makes it difficult to hazard a guess as to the territorial holding of the Nolamba chief in question.

An equally unsatisfactory reference to a Nolamba chief comes from the Kerehalli inscription (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) from the close of the ninth century, which mentions Permāḍi (a Ganga [?]) receiving homage from Nolamba's pergaḍe, Tribhuvanayya. The record goes on to state that Tribhuvanayya was administering Shivayyanakere, and granted a portion of the produce of some land for the maintenance of a tank (bittuvaṭṭa) (Gopal et. al. 1975, 4: Ch 352). Since the inscription is on a stone in the tank bund of Kerehalli, it is tempting to conclude that Tribhuvanayya was the local officer and that the Nolamba, his lord, had jurisdiction over this area. While this is possible it is by no means certain; an acceptance of this view would imply that the Ganga control over the Kaveri valley, too, was incomplete and the process of sub-infeudation had set in here as well.

In summation, the Nolambás emerged as a major power in the Eastern division in the ninth century and remained entrenched there in spite of attempts by the Gangas to subject them to their own authority. They had initially allied themselves with the Gangas; matrimonial alliances had been entered into and the Nolambas acknowledged the suzerainty of Rachamalla I and Nitimarga Ereyanga I, as the Madivala inscription bears witness (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 79). But the majority of the Kolar, Bangalore

and Tumkur records of the Nolambas do not refer to the Gangas as their overlords. They appear to have pushed the Banas into a corner and subordinated the Vaidumbas to their authority. Although several inscriptions from Hassan in the west and Kolar in the east mention Marasimha II's conflict with the Nolambas, his biruda of Noḷambakulāntaka seems far from the truth. The Nolamba kula survived his onslaught but were submerged soon after by the Chola blitzkrieg.[5]

THE VAIDUMBAS

In comparison to the Nolambas or even the Banas, the Vaidumbas had a limited presence in southeastern Karnataka. Epigraphic references to this lineage come only from the tenth century onwards.

As in the case of the Nolambas, there are initially only generic references to Vaidumba Mahārāja. One of the earliest inscriptions to refer to Vaidumba Mahārāja is the Bairaganapalli epigraph (Shrinivaspur taluk, Kolar district) of c. AD 900. The Vaidumba Mahārāja is stated to be entitled to the use of the pañcamahāśabdas, and was apparently an independent ruler. The king (arasa) of Halayur, and a Pallava mahārāja, the donor of a kalnād, are also mentioned, but the relationship of these three kings with each other is not clear (Rice 1905, 10: Sp 85).

The other early reference to the Vaidumbas comes from the Bechirakh Yarragudi inscription (Bagepalli taluk, Kolar district) of the same period. This states that the Vaidumba Mahārāja was ruling with the small river *(kiṛudoṛe)* as his boundary. He seems to have come into conflict with the Nolamba mahārāja, and a hero fell in the battle of Muru Malkici (Rice 1905, 10: Bg 62). It is not clear which small river is referred to here. The small river as boundary *(maryāde)* is also mentioned in the Bayyapalli inscription (Shrinivaspur taluk, Kolar district) of c. AD 880. The river was the boundary between the domains of Nolabbadya-arasa (Nolambadhiraja [?]), Chola *Permānaḍigaḷ* and Mayindama (Rice 1905, 10: Sp 30). The Bayyapalli inscription highlights the political fragmentation in the Kolar region at this time.

[5] Only two records (Rice 1905, 10: Ct 118 of AD 1011–12) and (1905, 10: Sp 14 of AD 1015) refer to Nolamba Corayya under Chola rule.

So great was this division that the nāḍu units are scarcely ever mentioned; they do not appear to have been valid political units at this time, at least in the Kolar area. The record-keepers wrote their records from the point of view of the local rulers, and when their domains did not coincide with the nāḍu units, the latter were just not mentioned. This, however, did not mean that the nāḍus ceased to exist. They emerge once again in records during the Chola overlordship as political as well as ethnic units.

The third early record mentioning a Vaidumba Mahārāja as ruling the kingdom of earth comes from Kottapalli (Shrinivaspur taluk, Kolar district) and refers to a certain Corayya, who was ruling the Nelavanki estate (abhyantara siddhi), evidently as a subordinate of Vaidumba Mahārāja (Shama Sastri 1928, 45–46 no. 33).

At the beginning of the tenth century, then, the Vaidumbas appear to have been independent rulers based mainly in the Shrinivaspur taluk but with a small pocket in the Bagepalli taluk as well. Inscriptions of the mid tenth century, however, portray them as subordinates of the Nolambas. The Betamangala inscription (Bowringpet taluk, Kolar district) of c. AD 950 mentions Iṟiva Noḷambādhirāja Nolipayya as the reigning king, and Vaidumba Sikhāmani Vikramaditya Tiruvayya repairing the breach in the tank of Vijayadityamangala (evidently the modern Betamangala) at the orders (besadoḷ) of Nolipayya. The bittuvaṭṭa for the tank's maintenance was granted in favour of the 500 Mahājanas of Kayvara (Rice 1905, 10: Bp 4). The fact that Tiruvayya acted at the command of Nolipayya would clearly indicate his subordinate status. This is further confirmed by the Gundlahalli inscription (Kolar taluk, Kolar district) of the same period, which describes Nolipayya as the reigning king and Vikramaditya Tiruvayya as the ruler of Ganga-6,000 (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 198). The inscription once more records the grant of bittuvaṭṭa for the tank of Bangavadi. Likewise, the Arur inscription (Chintamani taluk, Kolar district) of AD 951 mentions Iṟiva Noḷambādhirāja as the reigning king and records the grant of a dēvabhōga for the Bhimeshvara temple by Nolamba and Tiruvayya (Rice 1905, 10: Ct 49). While Tiruvayya's domain is not specified in this record nor his subordination clearly mentioned, the order in which the names appear seem to imply vassalage.

Finally, there is the Kurubarahalli epigraph (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district), of c. AD 950, which mentions Dilipayya as the reigning king and records the grant of a bittuvaṭṭa for the tank of Mandigallu by Tiruvayya's son, Candrasekara (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 198).

It is interesting to note that the distribution of the mid-tenth-century epigraphs mentioning the Vaidumbas differs from the geographical spread of the earlier records of the Vaidumba Mahārāja. The relationship between Vaidumba Mahārāja of the early tenth century and Vikramaditya Tiruvayya and his son Candrasekara cannot be discerned. It is possible that they belonged to collateral branches. On the other hand, it is also possible that the acceptance of Nolamba suzerainty enabled the Vaidumbas to extend their sphere of influence, just as the Rajput chiefs accepting Mughal sovereignty could enjoy royal rank *(mansab)* and land revenue assignments *(jagir)* under imperial service in addition to their patrimonial estates.

THE CHOLAS

There are a few epigraphic references indicating Chola presence in southeastern Karnataka prior to the region's conquest by them under Rajaraja I Chola. A group of hero-stones from Sravanagudi (Maddagiri taluk, Tumkur district) of c. AD 750 mention Dhananjaya Chola as the ruler of Erigalavadi-600. Two of these commemorate the death of heroes in the war waged by the Twelve (Pannirvaru) against Rattapadi (the Rashtrakuta territory) (Rice 1904, 12: Mi 97, 92). Another hero-stone mentions a rebellion by Kangapadi, Kottavallipadi and Vallabhavadi against Valavarma, who apparently ruled over them (Rice 1904, 12: Mi 93). The connection between Dhananjaya Chola and Valavarma is not clear. Yet another hero-stone commemorates the death of Aditya Kumaran, a retainer (āḷ), of Dhananjaya Chola in a battle (Rice 1904, 12: Mi 101).

An early reference to a Chola comes from the eighth century Hebbalu hero-stone (Maddur taluk, Mandya district), which has been cited earlier in connection with the Nolambas (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Mu 36). This hero-stone records the prowess of Karmaga Raca, Irmadi Bira and Manalera, all okkal from Kunungil, under the command of Irmadiyar in the battle at Tungala against Vadi

Chola. The territory of Vadi Chola cannot be determined from this record. Likewise, the Bayyapalli inscription (Shrinivaspur taluk, Kolar district), which mentions Chola Permānaḍigaḷ sharing the small river as a boundary with Nolabbadya-arasa and Mayindama (Rice 1905, 10: Sp 30) also does not aid in fixing the domain of the Chola chief beyond indicating that it lay in the Shrinivaspur area.

Two inscriptions from Nagaragere (Gauribidanur taluk, Kolar district), assigned to the beginning of the tenth century, mention a Chola Mahārāja as the local ruler. The purport of one inscription is unclear (Rice 1905, 10: Gd 72), but the other records the grant of wet lands (gaḷde) for three temples (*mūru dēgulakkam*) by a subordinate of Mayindama Chola Mahārāja (1905, 10: Gd 69).

While the above records are of local chiefs of Chola extraction, the Bairakuru inscription (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district) indicates that the imperial Cholas had conquered parts of southeastern Karnataka even prior to Rajaraja I. This inscription mentions *Madiregoṇḍa Kō Parakēsarivarman* (Parantaka I Chola) as the reigning king, and is dated in his twenty-ninth regnal year (AD 934) (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 203). It records the rescue of cattle by Maremma of Bayadakuru and the grant to the hero of one khaṇḍuga of rice land (kaḷani) below the tank by a feudatory (sāmanta) of Permāḍi. Permāḍi might possibly refer to Prthivipati II Ganga or to his son Nanniya Ganga, who is mentioned in the Gauribidanur inscriptions cited earlier (Rice 1905,10: Gd 4; Shama Sastri 1925, 74–75 no. 86). But Parantaka's control of this region did not last long; the invasions of Krishna III Rashtrakuta and of Butuga II Ganga wrested even Tondaimandalam from the Cholas (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Mu 42). Under Rajaraja I, however, the Cholas reconquered most of Gangavadi and retained it until expelled from there a century later by Vishnuvardhana Hoysala. The extent and nature of Chola administrative control over Gangavadi will be discussed later on.

THE NAGATTARAS

A few inscriptions from Bangalore district refer to the Nagattaras, who appear to have been vassals of the Gangas. It is not quite clear whether Nagattara refers to a descent group or to an office. The Agara inscription (Bangalore taluk) of the ninth century

mentions Nagattara Irugamayya as the Iruvuliyur-Oḍeya (Rice 1905, 9: Bn 79). It would seem from this that Nagattara was a family name, a likelihood further supported by the Begur inscription (Bangalore taluk), which records the tying of a Nagattara chaplet (paṭṭa) (Rice 1905, 9: Bn 83). This mention brings to mind the Serugunda inscription (Chikmagalur taluk, Chikmagalur district), which tells of Nirvinita's younger son being crowned with the Ganga crown (kongani paṭṭa) (Rice 1901, 6: Cm 50). Just as Kongani was the generic name for the Gangas after the founder Konganivarman, so is it possible that Nagattara was the generic name for this descent group, although the word vaṁśa is nowhere used.

The position of Irvuliyur-Oḍeya held by Nagattara Irugamayya implies that he held land in that settlement.[6] The Agara inscription thus reveals the rural landholding base of the Nagattaras, although there is no hint as to their caste affiliation. The Begur inscription, on the other hand, stresses the Nagattaras' position as military vassals of the Gangas. It refers to the battle against Bira Mahendra, in which Nagattara led the forces of Ayyapa and his sāmantas and died fighting in the battle of Tumbepadi. His son Iruga was then given the Nagattara crown (paṭṭa) and the division of Bempur-12 as kalnād (Rice 1905, 9: Bn 83). The Begur inscription substantiates R. N. Nandi's contention of contractual relationships between overlords and vassals (Nandi 1984, 27). In addition, it also signifies the confirmation of the heir in his succession to the dignity or estate of Nagattara.

The Bammondahalli inscription (Anekal taluk) from the close of the ninth century is the last record to refer to a Nagattara. It records the death of Mangala Bivanna, the servant (āḷ) of Nagattara in a cattle raid (tuṟugōḷ) (Rice 1905, 9: An 73). The hero was probably a raider, since most inscriptions specifically mention if the death was in defence of cattle (see page 62, footnote 16).

In sum, the Nagattaras appear to be low-ranking feudatories who were initially associated with landholdings at the village

6 See page 198 for discussion on ūr-oḍeyas.

level. By the close of the ninth century, as a result of meritorious military service, Iruga, who succeeded to the Nagattara crown, held a division of twelve villages. The history of the Nagattaras brings out the dynamism of the political system of the period, wherein the endemic warfare provided the feudatories scope for increasing their rank and possessions (Chattopadhyaya 1983, 45). The assumption here is that the Nagattaras formed a feudatory lineage; whether the Nagattaras in these three references belonged to a single lineage or collateral branches cannot be discerned from the meagre data at present at hand.

THE KUSA-TARYALLAS

There is but a single reference to this lineage in inscriptional records. This comes from the Kotevur inscription (Chikmagalur taluk, Chikmagalur district) from the close of the eighth century (Rice 1901, 6: Cm 63). In the eulogy, the Kusa-Taryallas claim descent from Manu, Ikshvaku, Hariscandra, Dilipa and Raghava, who are described as their progenitors *(vaṁśyādirājaḥ)*. In that family (kula) was Hari-Vishnu-Trivikrama, by whom the solar race was purified. Rama's son was Kusa whose son was Kukusa. Kukusa had two sons, Mallikari and Murikari. The latter is said to have slain ... sena, a hunter difficult to conquer. He is also credited with the migration of the clan to the south, where he performed sanctifying ceremonies *(jātakarma)* for Taryalla I, apparently with the help of a Kashyapa brahmana. Taryalla II, the author of this record, traces his descent from Taryalla I through Santakirti, Nagakirti and Sangama, all of whom appear to be devotees of Brahma. Their munificence to Vedic learning is also lauded. The Kotevur epigraph registers a grant to twenty-five brahmanas, but the object is not clear. The royal grant *(śāsana)* is said to have been composed by Pandasvami, a Kashyapa who was Taryalla's priest *(purōhita)* and is described as being well-versed in the Puranas *(purāṇajña)*. This inscription provides an interesting example of a local, perhaps tribal, chief claiming superior status through descent from the ancient race of Ikshvaku and from Vishnu in his incarnation as Rama. The reference to the performance of jātakarma, one of the brahmanical essential ceremonies *(saṁskāra)*, for Taryalla by Murikari is also interesting. Is this a reference to the hiraṇyagarbha, which was the archetypal

method for autochthonous chiefs to claim respectability (Veluthat 1989, 17–18; Kosambi 1988, 343–44)?

The association of Kashyapa brahmanas with the performance of the sanctifying rite (jātakarma) and with the composition of this record is significant. It appears to represent the legitimisation of an emerging tribal chief by brahmanas willing to oblige him in this regard; in return, Taryalla II and his immediate predecessors extended their patronage to brahmanical institutions.

The Kotevur inscription remains the only record of this lineage, as it apparently died out soon thereafter.

THE NIRGGUNDAS

There have been a few references to Nirggunda viṣaya and to Nirggunda-arasa in the inscriptions. The Devarahalli copper-plates (Nagamangala taluk, Mandya district) of Shripurusha Ganga discussed earlier mention Paramagula, who bore the title of Pṛthivī Nirggundarāja but who belonged to the Bana vaṁśa (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ng 149). It is consequently difficult to ascertain whether the Nirggunda prefix in the names of some monarchs refers to a lineage or merely to the territory ruled by them. On the other hand, it is possible that Nirggunda viṣaya derived its name from an ancient lineage by that name but later passed under the sway of rulers from other lineages.

Apart from the Devarahalli plates, the Bhairapura inscription (Channarayapatna taluk, Hassan district) of Shripurusha Ganga mentions Nirggunda-arasa ruling Nirggunda nāḍu-300. It is not clear whether this Nirggunda-arasa was the same as Paramagula; at all events, the inscription commemorates the death of Malvapotteya of Viravur, the servant (āḷ) of Nirggunda-arasa, in a skirmish at the boundary *(mēre)* with Kudi Muddan (Rice 1902,5: Cn 208). The epigraph does not specify whether the boundary mentioned is that of the village or of the nāḍu, nor does it give much information on the aggressor.

The Siradanahalli hero-stone (Arkalgud taluk, Hassan district) of AD 921–22 of the reign of Satyavakya Bira Permānaḍi (Rachamalla III), the son of Nitimarga Ereyanga II Permānaḍi, records the grant of a kalnād to Nirggunda Jaggiya-arasa of Belgali in appreciation of the valour of his son, Tippayya, who died in battle leading seventeen men (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Ag 81). The

territory ruled by Jaggiya-arasa is not specified, leading to an uncertainty as to whether Nirggunda here refers to a lineage or territory.

Lastly, there is the Bagali inscription (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district), which has been assigned on palaeographic grounds to the tenth century. This epigraph mentions Mahāsāmanta Kaccaga Nirggundadeva, bearing the flag with a monkey emblem *(vānara dhvaja)*, a seal embossed with a bull *(vṛṣabha lāñchana)* and entitled to the use of the pañcamahāśabdas, as the reigning king ruling from Sonitapura. The inscription records several grants of land for the Bhujangeshvara temple of Balgaliyur, which were entrusted to Kuchi Bhatara, the lord of the village. Kuchi Bhatara bore the title of *Nirggunda gōrava* (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 114); evidently he was closely associated with the ruler, who bestowed the title on him. However, the adoption of the overlord's name or title is more common among the lay feudatories of a king than among religious potentates. As in the case of Jaggiya-arasa, the territorial units ruled by Kaccaga Nirggundadeva are not clearly specified. Since the gāvuṇḍas of Ede nāḍu are mentioned as witnesses, it is possible that this was one of the units ruled by this mahāsāmanta. At all events, reference to Nirggunda viṣaya/nāḍu is conspicuously absent. The reference to Vānara dhvaja makes it likely that Kaccaga Nirggundadeva belonged to the Kadamba lineage; the derivation of the Nirggunda component in the name of this chief is a mystery.

THE KADAMBAS

The Kadambas had risen to power in northern Karnataka around the same time as the Gangas in the southeast. They were deposed and supplanted by the Western Chalukyas in the late sixth century. Some minor Kadamba chiefs continued to rule in northern Karnataka, however, and in the Hassan and Shimoga districts as well.

During the second phase the earliest references to the Kadambas come from the Narasimharajapura plates (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district [?]) of Shripurusha and Shivamara I Ganga. The first of these records refers to Nagavarma of the Pasindi Ganga family and his brother-in-law Tuluga-adi of Kadamba lineage as the donors, along with *Mane-oḍeya* Manali of Kosika lineage. The village Malavalli in the Tagare territorial division (janapada)

was granted by the two chiefs to a Jaina shrine (chaityālaya) at Tolla (Ramesh 1984, 253–56 no. 71). The Narasimharajapura plates also mention Vitta-arasa, the son of Madhavendra, who is described as being entitled to the Kadamba kingdom *(kadamba rājyakkarhan)*. Vitta-arasa granted some black-soil land to the shrine (chaityālaya) at Tolla as rent-free land *(mānya)* (Ramesh 1984, 274–75 no. 85).

Subsequent to these chiefs, who apparently held lands in Tagare nāḍu (the Hassan–Chikmagalur tract), there are scarcely any references to the Kadambas until the close of the ninth century. The Gaujagrahara inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) of c. AD 890 mentions Shanta-arasa, the son of Ajavarma-arasa of the Kadamba lineage, among the donors, but there is no hint as to the territory ruled by this Kadamba (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 45[b]). In contrast, the Kumsi hero-stone (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 931 records that Kalivitta-arasa, a mahāsāmanta subordinate to Krishna II Rashtrakuta, had supplanted Banavasi Galambar (Kadamba?) Aryavarma. If Aryavarma was a Kadamba then it is clear that for some time at least he had held the town and fort of Banavasi (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 88). This inscription clearly brings out the clienteles that each territorial lord built up to bolster his rule. It is curious, however, that the overlord, Krishna II, seems to have played no part whatsoever in these political changes in Banavasi-12,000.

The Malali inscription (Heggadedevanakote taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century refers to Chagi of Kadamba lineage as the ruler of Bayal nāḍu. No overlord is mentioned (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 110). As seen earlier, the Hiranandi inscription (Heggadedevanakote taluk, Mysore district) clearly attests to the fact that Bayal nāḍu was under the overlordship of Rachamalla III Ganga (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 23). It would appear that the Gangas subsequently lost this unit to independent chiefs, or perhaps the latter did not care to acknowledge Ganga sovereignty.

The Honnavara inscription (Hassan taluk, Hassan district) of Nitimarga Permānaḍi of the tenth century refers to a chief who was probably his feudatory and who bore the titles and attributes of *Bhuvanādhāra*, vānara dhvaja and vṛṣabha-lāñchana. The vānara dhvaja and vṛṣabha lāñchana accoutrements were associated with the Kadambas, leading to the assumption that this chief was

probably of Kadamba lineage. He made a grant (kalnāḍ) for a hero, the details of which are lost (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Hn 99); consequently, the territory ruled by this chief also cannot be determined. Similarly, the Ankanathapura inscription (Hole-Narsipur taluk, Hassan district) of the tenth century records the death of Racheya of Kadamba lineage, who observed a vow *(nontu)* for three days (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: HN 61). Again, very little of the status of this Kadamba can be discerned.

In contrast, the Mangaluru inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 968 refers to a Kadamba prince who was ruling Banavasi-12,000 under his sole umbrella *(ēkachatra chāyeyoḷ)*, although Chattigadeva is mentioned in the earlier part of the record as the reigning king (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 465). The Kadamba's name is lost, but he is given the attribute of vānara dhvaja and the biruda of *Kadamba-mārttaṇḍa*. The inscription records the construction of a temple, probably by a pergaḍe, and grants for the deity.

Another Kadamba prince, who ruled over Banavasi-12,000 around AD 1018 was Goravadeva, a feudatory *(pāda padmōpajīvi)* of Jagadekamalla. Goravadeva had the rank of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and was styled *Kadamba cakri* (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 46, 48). Likewise, hero-stones from Guduve (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 1032 mention two Kadamba chiefs – Kadambayyadeva of Banavasi and Kadamba Shantayyadeva – who were attacked by Pergaḍe Madinayya, the ruler of Banavasi-12,000. They retaliated by a cattle raid on Guduve. These records indicate conflicting claims over Banavasi between Pergaḍe Madinayya and his immediate superior, *Maturavamsi* Devura Shantayyadeva, on the one hand and the two Kadamba princes on the other. Once again, the emperor, Jayasinghadeva Chalukya, who is mentioned as the reigning king, appears to stand aloof from the developments at the local level, where two factions were competing for control over Banavasi-12,000 (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 60–63).

A series of inscriptions from the Manjarabad taluk (Hassan district) reveal the existence there of a Kadamba principality ruled by a chief named Niti Mahārāja. The earliest records of this series come from Ballu village. The two inscriptions of AD 1026 register grants for heroes and their dependants by Niti Mahārāja of the Kadamba rājya with Pergaḍe Biyya as the executor of the grant (Rice 1902, 5: Mj 53, 54). The Chikkanayakanahalli inscription

of c. AD 1030 states that Niti Mahārāja sought to conquer another rājya (Rice 1902, 5: Mj 51). The Kogodu inscription (Belur taluk, Hassan district) of c. AD 1034 records an invasion by Niti Mahārāja and his general, Dumma Katayya on Kogodu (Krishna 1939, 143–44 no. 36). Another inscription from Chikkanayakanahalli records the death of Chikka Katayya (Rice 1902, 5: Mj 50). It is not clear whether Dumma Katayya and Chikka Katayya were the same person. Finally, a third inscription from Ballu records the death of Niti Mahārāja himself by the adoption of, and perseverance in, sanyasana. His loyal retainer *(vēḷevāḷi)* probably followed him in death (Rice 1902, 5: Mj 55). Thus, the Manjarabad inscriptions document the attempts made by a local Kadamba chief to extend his dominions by conquest, and the Kogodu epigraph clearly brings out the destructive character of such invasions.

In sum, the Kadambas maintained a significant presence in the Western division, particularly in the Banavasi-12,000 unit, which, after all, was the original nucleus of Kadamba power in the fourth and fifth centuries AD. Minor chiefs of this lineage also established principalities for themselves or received domains by accepting the suzerainty of regional powers like the Gangas.

THE CHALUKYAS

The Chalukyas overthrew the Kadambas in northern Karnataka and established their suzerainty in the region in the sixth century. They were supplanted in their turn by the Rashtrakutas in the mid eighth century. Minor Chalukya chiefs continued to hold small domains under Rashtrakuta suzerainty until one such chief, Tailapa II, mobilised support from fellow feudatories in c. AD 973 and overthrew the Rashtrakutas to re-establish Chalukyan dominion over northern Karnataka and the Banavasi-12,000 province.

There are references to Chalukya chiefs from Gangavadi-96,000 as well, who were minor rulers of collateral Chalukyan branches. Mention has already been made of Vimaladitya of Chalukya vaṁśa, who was ruling Kunungil dēśa under Chakiraja, the sovereign (adhirāja) of Ganga maṇḍala (Luders 1896–97, 338–49 no. 49) during the Rashtrakuta interregnum of the early ninth century. The Kadaba plates (Gubbi taluk, Tumkur district) from

this region thus indicate Chalukyan presence in southern Karnataka in as early as the ninth century.

Several tenth-century records from Mysore taluk, Mysore district mention the Chalukyan chiefs Goggi, Durga and Narasingayya. The Kukkarahalli inscription refers to Narasingayya of Chalukya vaṁśa, a mahāsāmanta entitled to the pañcamahāśabdas, who was probably the ruler of Purva Bayal nāḍu. Although he is given the title of Mahāsāmanta, which is indicative of subordination, the identity of his overlord is unknown. He constructed a temple, Narasingesvara, evidently named after himself, which was given the abhyantara siddhi grant of Manalevadi village. The grant was to be safeguarded by three nāḷgāvuṇḍas (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 223). Another inscription from Varuna mentions Mahāsāmanta Narasinga of Chalukya vaṁśa and his queen Gavilabba-arasi (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 167). Narasinga is probably the same Narasingayya mentioned in the Kukkarahalli epigraph.

A third inscription from Varuna, also palaeographically assigned to the tenth century, mentions *Pañcamahāśabda Mahāsāmanta* Goggi of Chalukya vaṁśa, the bearer of the the seal bearing the boar emblem *(ādivarāha lāñchana)*. He appears to have granted Aragodupalli to the Buteshvara temple as a dēvabhōga with all exemptions (sarva bādhā parihāra) (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 169). This Goggi is perhaps identical with the chief of the same name who is mentioned in several other hero-stones from Varuna as having participated in the fratricidal war *(dāyaga sammannadin)* between Edavari and Uttavaga, in which several retainers *(mane-magatin)* of Goggi died (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 173, 174, 175, 178). Neither the identity and status of Edavari and Uttavaga nor the territory ruled by Goggi can be determined precisely. Once more, there is no information as to Goggi's overlord, though the title Mahāsāmanta would indicate subordinate status.

Yet another Chalukyan chief mentioned in the Varuna inscriptions is Mahāsāmanta Durga, born in the Chalukya vaṁśa. He appears to have granted Torevalli, to the west of the Buteshvara temple, and some land below the tank at Basamballiyur, to the Buteshvara temple as donation (dēvabhōga). The sarva bādhā parihāra grant was entrusted to Nanni Karttara Bhatara (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 168). An epigraph from Varakodu records the

death of Pittabbe, the queen (arasi) of Durga, apparently by a Jaina vow since the stone is said to be her tomb (niṣidhi) (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 129). The relative chronology of the above-mentioned hero-stones cannot be determined since the records are only dated palaeographically. However, some of the hero-stones recording Goggi's participation in the war between Edavari and Uttavaga mention Dugga (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 176, 178) who might possibly be Mahāsāmanta Durga; if so, Goggi and Durga might have been contemporaries. At all events, these Mysore inscriptions indicate the presence, in the heart of Gangavadi, of a line of apparently independent Chalukyan chiefs of the rank of Mahāsāmanta. None of them acknowledges his overlord.

The imperial Chalukyas also held portions of Mysore district after the decline of the Gangas while the Cholas were establishing themselves in the southeastern parts of Gangavadi. The Kudakur hero-stone (Piriyapatna taluk, Mysore district) of AD 997–98 mentions Pampadevi, the daughter of Chalukya *Permānaḍideva*, as the local ruler (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Pp 92).

Apart from these ruling lineages, new ones such as the Kongalvas (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Ag 63, 143; Rice 1902, 5: Ag 75) of c. AD 1020–1026 and the Hoysalas (Rice 1902, 5: Mj 43, 44; Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Ag 143) were emerging from the fringes of Gangavadi and were to play a leading role in the political history of Karnataka in the following centuries.

The Gangas, then, exercised varying degrees of control over the numerous royal lineages who controlled tracts of land across Gangavadi. In the tenth century, many of these chiefs from other lineages assumed independence, and few acknowledged Ganga sovereignty over them. However, the overlords had recourse to numerous strategies to mobilise support in such situations: for putting together an army, they depended on common enmity *(page)*, ties of blood or loyalty *(svāmi bhṛtya sambandha)*, the desire to attain fame *(mahime)* or old diplomatic relations *(aṭṭu)* (Anantharangachar 1977, IX.95 vacana).

PETTY RULERS OF UNCERTAIN ORIGINS

There was a general tendency, particularly by the tenth century AD, to claim descent from a recognised royal lineage. The

importance of kula is stressed in the *Pampa Bhārata*, where Karna is repeatedly ridiculed as a fisherman *(mīṇguḷiga)* (Anantharangachar 1977, II.83, IX.67, X.20, XII.43) in contrast to Bhisma, Arjuna and others, who belonged to a pure lineage *(satkula)* (1977, X.20). Likewise, in the story of Chilataputra in the *Vaḍḍārādhane*, Upashrenika the king of Magadha weds Gunasaundari only after ascertaining that her father belonged to a royal lineage *(arasukula)*, though he was then only ruling over a Beda hamlet (bēḍapaḷḷi) (Narasimhachar 1986, 207).

The Jaina Puranas, too, laid considerable stress on lineage. The preferred claim here was descent from the Tirthankaras, as in the Shāntipurāṇam of Ponna, where, for instance, Shrivijaya, the emperor ruling from Paudanapura, is lauded for his descent from Nabhitanubhava (Adinatha) (Nagarajayya 1982, V.75). Alternatively, Jainas could claim to belong to one of the four lineages established by Adinatha, namely, the Kuru vaṁśa, Hari vaṁśa, Natha vaṁśa and Ugra vaṁśa (Narasimha Sastri 1980, VIII.74 vacana). Thus, when the people of Champa-nagara seek a successor to the heirless king Chandrakirti in the *Neminatha Purāṇam*, the choice falls on Simhaketu, who belonged to the Hari vaṁśa and who was renamed Markandeya (Kulkarni 1975, 328). It was in this lineage that Krishna, Balarama and Neminatha were to be born. This general stress on pure birth led many rulers, feudatory and sovereign alike, to claim descent from Puranic lineages or a *brahmakshatriya* status.

However, not all feudatory rulers did so. There are numerous records of local rulers who did not sanctify their origins by claiming to belong to a Puranic lineage or to a locally dominant one. In many cases, the tribal affiliations of these little kings is all too apparent. Such is the case with Chottamman, king of the Arattis, who is referred to as ruling Edettore nāḍu-1,000 as a subordinate of Kongani Mahārāja Shripurusha in an eighth-century record from Varuna (Mysore taluk, Mysore district) (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 183). The Arattis appear to be a tribe well-absorbed into the early medieval polity, though they seem to have retained their ethnic identity as well. It is perhaps a member of the same group who is mentioned in the Devalapura inscription of the same period and area (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 192). This record mentions Arattitirar, a swordsman, *(bāḷāḷ* [?]*)* of Singadikshar, probably the ruler of Kudalur. A certain Arattiga,

prefect of the city police *(taḷāṟa)* (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Taḷāṟa*) is also referred to as the donee in this epigraph, who received a senior retainer's field *(pērāḷvina key)* (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Kēy, Āḷ*) and Nokki-ur, a rent-free holding *(vṛtti)* of Kudalur, from the Oḍeya of Gottemadi. It is not clear whether Arattitirar and Arattiga Taḷāṟa were the same person; it is possible that both belonged to the tribe of Arattis, which was perhaps now in the process of differentiation and assimilation into the class-divided state society of the period at various levels (Jaiswal 1979–80, 29).

The Asandi inscription (Kadur Taluk, Chikmagalur district) of AD 972 provides another reference to a tribal chieftain. In this case, however, the tribe and its chief are perceived as adversaries of the established order, unlike Chottamman of the Arattis. The inscription records that the Mahājanas of Tagure nāḍu complained to Marasimha II about the depredations of Naraga in the countryside. The king thereupon declared that henceforth he would personally deal with cows, brahmanas, the army, the treasury and Naraga as well. Royal soldiers *(talevarum* [?]*)* were sent to deal with Naraga, who was killed together with his son-in-law, children, tenants and subjects (Rice 1901, 6: Kd 147). The reference to his tenants and subjects *(tann okkalum prajeyum)* is interesting. Would this indicate an incipient class differentiation in the tribe, or was it merely a case of projecting the social structures of a kingdom in the plains onto the tribals, as is done in the literary works of the period? In the story of Chilataputra cited earlier, the Beda king *(bēḍarasa)* is said to have built a city (poḷal) in the forest, and his retinue and court are no different from that of any ruler in the settled tracts in the plains save in its location. Chilataputra, when driven away from his father's kingdom for his misdemeanour, goes to the forest and establishes a city complete with a fort (kōṭe) and big gateways *(gōpuradvāram)* in an inaccessible part of the forest *(aḍaviyoḷ durgamappeḍeyoḷ)*, but near the hermitage of a forest-dwelling sage *(tāpasa)* named Mahendra (Narasimhachar 1986, 207, 210). In the *Pampa Bhārata*, Hidimba, though portrayed as a cannibalistic savage to start with, takes the Pandavas to her city Hidimbapura, which had white-washed multistoried buildings that stood out amidst the dark trees on the hill in the midst of the forest (Anantharangachar 1977, III.18 vacana). The description of Hidimbapura, brief though it is, is no different from that of

Varanavata, Ekacakrapura or other towns described in the *Pampa Bhārata*. Thus, while the forest-dwelling tribals were viewed as enemies of the settled order of the nāḍu, the Bedas in particular being generally associated with cattle raids on villages and cities (Kulkarni 1975, 331), there was a simultaneous tendency in literary sources to view them as forest-based counterparts of the nāḍu kingdoms. Naraga is clearly viewed as a menace to the settled order of the nāḍus, burning and ravaging villages of the Tegure nāḍu. The Shravanabelgola epitaph (Channarayapatna taluk, Hassan district) of Marasimha even compares him to the *asuras*, Madhu and Kaitabha) (Gopal et al. 1973, 2: SB 64, ll. 52–55), but he is also acknowledged as a minor king. It is difficult to gauge from the available evidence whether the tribe that he led was already differentiated along class lines.

The inscriptions abound in references to local rulers whose antecedents cannot be determined. The Shivanapura inscriptions (Hosakote taluk, Bangalore district) of the eighth century record that Siyavallava-arasa was ordered (besadoḷ) by his overlord Kongani Mutta-arasa, to fight the Kaduvatti army. His death in that battle was commemorated by the setting up of a pillar by Shrikama (Rice 1905, 9: Ht 21, 22). The antecedents of Siyavallava-arasa cannot be discerned from the available evidence. Similarly, the Dasarahalli inscription (Bangalore taluk, Bangalore district) of the same period records the death of Polletalva Kukkara, the ruler of Bidirkkal in Karika nāḍu, who fell in battle against the army of Palikkari nāḍu (Rice 1905, 9: Bn 36). Again, the social background of this local chief cannot be determined. Another eighth-century inscription from Dimbala (Shrinivaspur Taluk, Kolar district) refers to Vejjape...arasa, who was ruling Ronur under Duggamara Ereyanga, the son of Shripurusha, who was himself ruling Kuvalala nāḍu (Rice 1905, 10: Sp 65). The epigraph records the anointing of Sagara Mikkane as the superintendent of the royal household [?] *(mane-oḍeya)*[7] and the grant of lands with all exemptions to him. Although Vejjape...arasa does not seem to belong to a recognised lineage, the mane-oḍeya appears to lay claim to descent from Sagara.

[7] Mane-oḍeya literally means master (oḍeya) of the house (mane) but here is probably akin to *mane-vergade* (superintendant of the royal household) (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Mane-vergade*).

While the above references are to the subordinates of the Gangas, apparently independent local rulers who did not belong to any recognised lineage are also frequently mentioned in inscriptions of the second phase. Thus, the Sosale inscription (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) from the close of the eighth century mentions Vikramaditya-arasa, who was ruling Vadakare nāḍu-300. The lineage of this local ruler is not given, nor is there any indication of his subordination to the Gangas. This is plausible, as the record belongs to the period of the Rashtrakuta interregnum in southern Karnataka. The territory ruled by Vikramaditya-arasa is, in fact, the core of the Ganga kingdom, being situated to the immediate north of their capital of Talakad. Neither is there any sign of Vikramaditya's subordination to the Rashtrakutas. The inscription records the appropriation by the king of one gold coin (pon) during the harvest (suggiyuḷ) out of the income of the palace soldiers *(bhaṭamānya)* (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 120). A ninth-century inscription from Muttatti (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) refers to a chief whose name is lost but who is described as Valabhīpuravarēśvara (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 39). Once again, there is no hint of his lineage or of his subordination to the Gangas. However, the title of Valabhīpuravarēśvara was also held by Manalera, the vassal of Butuga II, mentioned in the celebrated Atakur inscription (Maddur taluk, Mandya district) of the tenth century (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Mu 42). If the Valabhīpuravarēśvara mentioned in the Muttatti record belonged to the same family, then it is possible that he, too, claimed descent from Sagara, as did Manalera in the tenth century. An inscription from Beramvadi (Gundlupet taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century refers to the seventh year of the tying of the paṭṭa on Chavunda Permānaḍi, who was probably ruling Bayal nāḍu, or parts of it (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Gu 219). The antecedents of this local ruler are unknown, nor is it specified who tied the paṭṭa on him. He appears to be totally independent. Similarly, inscriptions on the pedestal of an image of Cauvisa Tirthankara and other items of worship found buried at Mangala (Gundlupet taluk, Mysore district) and palaeographically assignable to the tenth century refer to Sarvalokashraya, whose wife Chikka Jogabbe probably commissioned the image (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Gu 203–205). The plural suffix employed in referring to Chikka Jogabbe indicates a

respectable social status. The name Sarvalokashraya is reminiscent of the standard Chalukyan title of *Satyasraya*, but with the limited information at hand is hard to determine whether he was a king at all.

The Mallesvara inscription (Kadur taluk, Chikmagalur district) from the close of the tenth century records a grant of five khaṇḍugas of land to a monastery (basadi) by Chavunda *Nāyaka*, the retainer *(vēḷe)* of Loka Vidyadharayya (Rice 1901, 6: Kd 8). The antecedents of both Chavunda and Loka Vidyadharayya are not specified. They appear to have held feudal rank and Loka Vidyadharayya was probably a local chief, but the territory ruled by him is not mentioned in the inscription. Chavunda Nāyaka, too, appears to have been a landholder. At all events, he makes a land grant without reference to his superior.

Rashtrakuta records, too, often mention local chieftains who do not appear to claim exalted descent and whose antecedents are untraceable. One such record is the Mavali inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of Govinda III Rashtrakuta of the eighth century (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 1). This inscription refers to Madanaga-arasa as the ruler of Ede nāḍu. Another local ruler mentioned is Madangela, whose village *(gāma)* was seized by Kallimmaran. The social background of all these notables is unknown. None of them, not even Madanaga-arasa, seems to claim any illustrious descent. Likewise, the Induvalli inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) from the end of the eighth century mentions one Deda Naganda as the ruler of a nāḍu which is unfortunately not specified (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 542). Once again, the social background of this local ruler is not discernable. Another instance is provided by the Aradesahalli inscription (Devanakote taluk, Bangalore district) from the close of the ninth century, which refers itself to the reign of Akalavarsha Pṛthivivallabha (Krishna II [?]). His subordinate, Govinda, was ruling Salne-300 and Kunungil-500 by his favour (Rice 1905, 9: Ḍv 42). As in the case of Madanaga-arasa and Deda Naganda, his antecedents cannot be determined.

Under Krishna III Rashtrakuta, Banavasi-12,000 appears to have changed hands frequently, and in many cases these feudatories were of indeterminate origin. Thus, the Bettadakurali inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 954–55 mentions Javanaisami as the ruler of Bana(va)si nāḍu (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 202), while the Bharangi epigraph (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district)

of AD 957 refers to Gabbendara as the ruler of Banavasi-12,000 (1904, 8: Sb 326), as does the Hunavalli inscription of AD 968 (1904, 8: Sb 531). But the Belagi inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 964 states that Bappava held the paṭṭa of Banavasi-12,000 (Krishna 1929, 150 no. 78). As discussed earlier, it is very likely that none of these lords controlled the entire territory of Banavasi-12,000; hence the conflicting claims. In any case, it is noteworthy that none of the individuals mentioned here cared to claim exalted descent, unlike Shantivarman-arasa, who, in his Hecche inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 991, claimed to belong to the *brahmakshatriya* Matura vaṁśa, held the exalted title of Mahāsāmantādhipati and was entitled to the pañcamahāśabdas (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 477). Likewise, Cakravarti Kamadeva Kadamba, the son of a general *(sēnādhipati)* of Tailapadeva of Chandavur, claimed to be a *Sūryavaṁśi* (descendant of Sun dynasty) and held the title of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara. He, too, was entitled to the pañcamahāśabdas (Rice 1904, 8: Sa 30). In contrast to these chiefs Javanaisami, Gabbendara and Bappava appear to have been of humble extraction, though admittedly such a conclusion is based merely upon what the records do not say.

There is a reference from AD 972–73, a period of transition from Rashtrakuta to Chalukya overlordship, to a certain Kakkaladeva as ruling the kingdom of earth, an expression generally indicating overlordship and independent control. The Bennur inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of the same year mentions Chattayyadeva, evidently Kakkaladeva's subordinate, as ruling Banavasi-12,000 (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 455). However, the Jambehalli inscription (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 44), also of the same year, merely refers to Shantivarman-arasa (the Matura vaṁsi [?]) as the king of Banavasi-12,000 without mentioning any overlord. But the Hecche inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of c. AD 990 refers to the reign of Kakkaladeva and to the mahāsāmanta entitled to the pañcamahāśabdas, Shantivarman-arasa, ruling an unspecified unit from Herdese (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 479). Evidently the Chalukyas had not strengthened their hold over Banavasi until this time and the political situation continued to be fluid, permitting obscure adventurers like Kakkaladeva to rise to the forefront for a brief space of time. Another inscription from Hecche dated AD 991 mentions *Bhuvanāśraya Satyāśraya*

Kulatilaka Chāḷukyābharaṇa Ahavamalladeva as the reigning king; Shantivarman-arasa appears to have transferred his fealty to the Chalukyas by this date (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 477).

Thus, while recognised lineages such as the Gangas, Nolambas, Banas, Chalukyas, etc., dominated this region and controlled most of the territory within it, many of the rulers of the villages and nāḍus mentioned in the inscriptions of this period were of obscure and sometimes discernibly tribal origins. These individuals were usually subordinate to a regional or sub-regional power such as the Gangas or Rashtrakutas, but the political situation at times favoured the assumption of independence and even claims to sovereign overlordship, as in the case of Kakkaladeva.

Officials

Officials constituted another section of vassals. Originally members of the state bureaucracy, these groups came to hold hereditary rights over villages and nāḍus.

PERGAḌES

The designation of pergaḍe was the Kannada derivative of the Sanskrit appellation of *adhyakṣa* and denoted a chamberlain, a superintendent or a director (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Pergaḍe*). Specialised functions were discharged by the *mane-vergaḍes*, the superintendants of the royal households (Sirkar 1966, q.v. *Mane-vergaḍe*) and by the suṅka-vergaḍes, the toll collectors (1966, q.v. *Suṅka-vergaḍe*). The Kanatur inscription (Alur taluk, Hassan district) provides an instance of the former (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Al 8). In literary works, pergaḍes are frequently mentioned along with royal officers. Thus, in the story of Sukumaraswami, Nagashri, the daughter of a minister, visits the Nagathana in the company of the daughters of ministers, pergaḍes, *rājaśrēṣṭhis*, *pradhānas* and officials (niyōgi) (Narasimhachar 1986, 56). Pergaḍes are usually deputed as the king's envoys in both the *Vaḍḍārādhane* and the *Pampa Bhārata*. Thus, in the story of Sukaushalaswami, the king Gandhabhajana of Champa-nagara sends his senior pergaḍes *(pradhāna pergaḍegaḷum)* Madhusena and Madhusudana to Nagadatta Śeṭṭi to ask for his daughter Sukeshini's hand in marriage (Narasimhachar 1986, 77). Similarly,

in the story of Vrishabhasena, King Pradyota of Ujjeni asks Gāvuṇḍa Jinadatta for the hand of his daughter through the pergaḍes (Narasimhachar 1986, 155). In the *Pampa Bhārata*, Krishna in the role of Yudhisthira's envoy is described as a pergaḍe by Duryodhana *(aṭṭida nimma pergaḍe...)* (Anantharangachar 1977, IX.89).

There are but two references in the inscriptions to pergaḍes in the role of envoys. The Kerehalli inscription (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) from the close of the ninth century records that while Permāḍi was reigning he received homage *(ōlagisi)* from Tribhuvanayya, the pergaḍe of a Nolamba king. It is apparent that Tribhuvanayya was sent to the court of Permāḍi, which possibly denotes the Ganga king, as the envoy of the Nolamba. In addition, the inscription records the grant of bittuvaṭṭa of the tank (at [?]) Shivayyanakere by Tribhuvanayya, its administrator (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 352). Since the inscription was found on the tank bund of Kerehalli, the inscription probably refers to the same tank. The relation between the two facts mentioned in the epigraph is uncertain; it is unclear whether the grant of the bittuvaṭṭa was part of the mission or was made after it.

The other reference comes from the Magge hero-stone (Heggadedevanakote taluk, Mysore district) of AD 998–99, which records that while Uraviyamma-arasa Rajadhiraja was ruling Bira Bayal nāḍu, Kongani's superintendant *(heggaḍe)* came asking for the distinction of an umbrella *(koḍeya bhōga)*. He was apparently refused, whereupon, Kongani Gāvuṇḍa attacked Magge from Manale. Here again, the heggaḍe was an envoy (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 142).

For the most part, pergaḍes were associated with the rulership of a village and were endowed with abhyantara siddhi rights over them. Thus, the eighth-century Kamaravalli inscription (Gundlupet taluk, Mysore district) mentions Madapanna, the son of Akkakailur, as the Pergaḍe of Ariyur (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Gu 67). There are numerous references in tenth-century inscriptions to pergaḍes holding abhyantara siddhi rights over villages. The Bandalike inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) mentions Sandivara Kudivulda as the Pergaḍe of Kodangeyur. Nandivara Kaliga is also mentioned, but his area of jurisdiction is not specified. Both were the subordinates of *Gāvuṇḍi* Jakiyabbe, who held the nāḷgāvuṇḍu of Nagarakhanda-70

(Rice 1902, 7: Sk 219). Similarly, the Kaladevapura hero-stone (Maddagiri taluk, Tumkur district) of c. AD 920 registers the grant of Kalliyur as abhyantara siddhi to Pergaḍe Benayya as kalnāḍ (Rice 1904, 12: Mi 71).

In addition, some pergaḍes appear to have enjoyed the rank of Mahāmātya. Thus, the Otur inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of c. AD 938 mentions Pergaḍe Poleyamma, who is described as the prime minister (mahāmātya guṇa sampanna). He constructed a tank and made a dēva dāna grant. Interestingly, his brother Pergaḍe Nakiyayya is not given the title of Mahāmātya but is said to have held abhyantara siddhi-rights over Cittarate Otur (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 70). Poleyamma does not seem to have been associated with abhyantara-siddhi rights over villages. Were these attributes mutually exclusive? Likewise, the Talagunda inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 997 mentions Pergaḍe Kalimayya, who also held the title of Mahāmātya (Rice 1902, 7, Sk 179). Kalimayya granted the rent-free holding *(manneya)* (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Manneya*) of Nariyalige-70 to Kayimma. This would indicate that Kalimayya enjoyed a high rank in the feudatory hierarchy. He, too, is apparently not associated with the rulership of a village. Can it then be assumed that the title of Mahāmātya was conferred on some pergaḍes as an indication of high rank not enjoyed by others, who were merely associated with the abhyantara-siddhi rights over a village?

Unlike gāvuṇḍas, who were for the most part drawn from the peasantry, pergaḍes came from varied social backgrounds. Thus, the Melagani inscription (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district) from the early ninth century mentions *Pergaḍe Gauḍa* Shri Puli as the ruler of Agali-12 (Shama Sastri 1926, 87–88 no. 100). He was apparently a gāvuṇḍa. Likewise, the Kakkarasi inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 954 mentions one Baradavoja, who held the post of Pergaḍe over the land of Kakkarasi (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 474). The ōja suffix would indicate that this individual was by origin an artisan—a blacksmith, a carpenter or a goldsmith, probably the first (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Ōja*). In other cases, the social background is obscure; this is so with the Bandalike inscription mentioned above, in which both pergaḍe Nandivara Kaliga and Pergaḍe Sandivara Kudivulda of Kodangeyur had indeterminate origins (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 219).

Pergaḍes, too, were part of the feudatory hierarchy. Thus, Nandivara Kaliga and Sandivara Kudivulda were both subordinates of Gāvuṇḍi Jakiyabbe, who held the nāl̤gāvuṇḍu of Nagarakhanda-70 (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 219). They evidently filled the position in the hierarchy normally held by the ūr gāvuṇḍas. Similarly, the Kaisodi hero-stone (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 951–52 mentions Cikka Shambuvanayaenira as the ruler of Edenāḍu-70, while Aychenna held the office of Pergaḍe under him (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 570). This point is most strikingly brought out by the Hiranandi inscription (Heggadedevanakote taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century, which records that in the reign of Rachamalla, one Bhuvanaditya approached him for half the kingdom and half the treasure. Thereupon the Five Sāmantas (Aysāmanta) and the pergaḍes declared that none other than Rachamalla would rule over Bayal nāḍu and fought against Bhuvanaditya at Magundi (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 23). In this instance the pergaḍes were classed together with the sāmantas and apparently played an identical role in the politics of the day.

The position of the pergaḍes thus brings out vividly the process of the feudalisation of the bureaucracy. Originally royal officers, they gradually came to be associated with the rulership of villages. Others, enjoying a higher rank in the feudal hierarchy, could dispose of an entire unit without reference to a superior.

NĀḌABŌVAS

Unlike the pergaḍes, the nāḍabōvas appear to have retained their original character as members of the bureaucracy. The designation seems to have been derived from that of the *sēnabōva*, which denoted a village accountant (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Sēnabōva*). Nāḍabōvas were probably their counterparts at the nāḍu level. There are a few epigraphic references to sēnabōvas in the records. In two records from the Shimoga district they appear to be scribes (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 474; 1902, 7: Sk 179). In the Kanatur inscription (Alur taluk, Hassan district) also, a sēnabōva, Dhorapayya, acted as scribe and apparently received a grant *(ida bareda sēnabōva dhōrapayyage koṭṭa śāsana)* (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Al 8). The details of the supplementary grant are not given, however. In the Bagali inscription (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) a sēnabōva was one of the donors together with

Pergaḍe Jogapayya and the Three Hundred (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 114). Thus, the inscriptions do not bring out the sēnabōva's functions as a village accountant; rather, they appear mostly as scribes and perhaps received land for the discharge of their functions.

The two available references in the case of the nāḍabōvas depict them as part of the tax-collecting machinery of the state. The Ishvarahaḷḷi inscription (Chikmagalur taluk, Chikmagalur district) of the ninth century is the earliest available reference to such an official. The Nāḍabōva, together with the Nāḷgāvuṇḍa of Ere nāḍu, are exhorted to respect the remission of tax on clarified butter made in favour of a group of merchants (Shama Sastri 1922–23, 40 no. 4). Likewise, in the Belaguli inscription (Arkalgud taluk, Hassan district) of the tenth century, which records the grant of the village Belgali as kalnāḍ to Ankada Ketayya, the retainer (vēḷevāḷi) of queen Revakanimmadi, warns the Nāḍabōva and the Nāḷgāvuṇḍa from entering the village to collect the aṭṭadeṟe and other minor taxes *(kiṟudeṟe)* (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Ag 41).

Thus the nāḍabōvas, together with the nāḷgāvuṇḍas, were apparently empowered with the responsibility of collecting taxes for the king in villages that were not granted either as brahmadēya or to secular assignees as abhyantara siddhi. There is no information on how they were remunerated for their services. It is possible that they, too, enjoyed rights over the produce of designated villages, but there is no certain evidence in support of this view.

NĀḶGĀMIGAS

The inscriptions from Shimoga district mention gāmigas, whose precise socio-political status cannot be determined from available evidence. The earliest reference to gāmigas comes from the Mavali inscription (Sorab taluk) from the end of the eighth century, which records the conquest of Madangela's village by Kallimaran. At this, the *nāḷgāmigas* fought back and fell fighting at the fort of Vasavur (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 1). A similar reference comes from the Induvalli inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) from the end of the eighth century. This records the invasion of Vasavur by Bittiga and Erega, the *Nāḷgaudigas* (same as *nāḷgāvuṇḍas* [?])

of Golliga-nāḍu. This, too, was liberated by the nāḷgāmigas. The inscription specifically commemorates the valour of Gadigan Kalira, one of the nāḷgāmigas (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 542). It would appear from these references that nāḷgāmigas were nāḍu-level officers responsible for the defence of the nāḍu.

Gāmiga is probably the tadbhava form of *grāmika*, which signified a village headman (Sircar 1966: q.v. *Grāmika*). Other inscriptions from Shimoga district mention gāmigas. An inscription from Mavali (Sorab taluk) towards the close of the eighth century records the death in battle of Kulamudda Gāmigar (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 10). He received four oxen [?] and wet-land fields in compensation. Once again, the gāmigas are associated with defence. The body of the nāḷgāmigas is not mentioned in this inscription. Another reference to gāmigas comes from the ninth-century Salur inscription (Shikarpur taluk). Unlike the earlier records, this epigraph is not concerned with the defence of a village or a nāḍu. It merely registers the grant of land by the son of Pubbamiga and Malengi *Gāmigitti* (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 283). Gāmigitti signifies the wife of a gāmiga. Surprisingly, Pubbamiga is not given the title of Gāmiga, unless it be assumed that Pubbamiga was an orthographical error for Pubba Gāmiga, for which there is no certain evidence. Did Malengi then acquire the title of Gāmigitti after the death of her husband? At all events, her son, too, is not invested with the title of Gāmiga. It is noteworthy that this individual granted land without reference to a superior.

When all references are taken together it would seem that the gāmigas were either village headmen or had substantial land holdings. The plural suffix to gāmiga in the reference to Kulamudda Gāmigar implies a respectable social status. It is possible that the gāmigas of a nāḍu constituted a corporate group that undertook the defence of a nāḍu in the frequent inter-nāḍu conflicts of the period.[8] It is striking that references to the gāmigas come only from the Shimoga inscriptions of the end of the eighth and the ninth centuries. They were possibly replaced by some other officers or group later on.

[8] Rice 1905, 9: Bn 36 of the eighth and Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 5 of the ninth centuries provide instances of inter-nāḍu conflicts.

PRABHUS

The earliest reference to a prabhu comes from the Belavatte inscription (Mysore taluk, Mysore district) of the eighth century, which records the death of *Mahāprabhu* Govapayya and the grant of a kalnāḍ, probably by the king (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 117). However, there is no evidence here to connect him with the chieftaincy of a nāḍu or with official functions. The ninth-century Dodda Kunce inscription (Hole-Narsipur taluk, Hassan district) seems to indicate that the prabhus were associated with administration, since it records the remission in perpetuity of taxes on ghee granted to the Mahājanas of Kunce by Permāḍi and Prabhu Kamayya (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: HN 97).

The Maruru and Karagada inscriptions, on the other hand, seem to suggest that the prabhus were a corporate group, like the Nāṭṭār of Tamil Nadu, who were responsible, among other things, for the demarcation of granted lands (Stein 1980, 119). The Maruru inscription (Arkalgud taluk, Hassan district) of the ninth century records the grant of lands to Akhanda Bhatara as a donation for education (vidyā dāna) by Taddayya. The lands were demarcated *(maṇṇa baḷasida)* by the prabhus, who included Buva Gāvuṇḍa, Kannamma, Padi Ayyapa, Duddayya, Aycanna and Devana (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Ag 28). Their place of origin is not specified, and with the exception of the Gāvuṇḍa, the occupations of the other individuals are unknown. Perhaps they were local landholders, but in the absence of specific information this is uncertain. Likewise, the Karagada inscription (Belur taluk, Hassan district) of AD 971, which records the grant of five khaṇḍugas of land to Basa Gāvuṇḍa for his distinguished role in the battle of Uccangi, again mentions the prabhus who demarcated the lands. They were Permāḍi Gāvuṇḍa, Nagayya of Muguli, Basavayya of Basavanahalli, Poci Gāvuṇḍa of Uppavalli, Valiyare Mudda, and Erega of Magundi. The inscription also mentions the Seventy-six *(Ēḷpattāṟa) Prabhugaḷ* of Benneyur (Krishna 1942b, Bl 308). Unlike the Maruru inscription, the Karagada record specifies the place of origin of the prabhus, who once again included gāvuṇḍas in their number.

Chattopadhyaya draws attention to the practice of drawing select representatives from different settlements in the context of land-sale transactions in Gupta and post-Gupta Bengal. Similarly, during the Hoysala period, social conflict in a village in Kalikatti

(Arsikere taluk, Hassan district) was settled in the presence not merely of the subjects *(praje)* but also the three Prabhu Gāvuṇḍas of the nāḍu and people from other settlements (Chattopadhyaya 1990, 113, 126). Perhaps this practice is foreshadowed in the Maruru and Karagada epigraphs. In the same way, the Chikmagalur inscription (Chikmagalur town) records the demarcation *(baḷasidōr)* of the boundaries by individuals from the neighbouring settlements, led by the Nāḷgāvuṇḍa. The term prabhu is, however, not used in this record (Rice 1901, 6: Cm 3). Interestingly, all these inscriptions occur in the same geographical tract of the Vedavati valley; Kalikatti, too, falls in the same region. Thus, prabhus appear to be an informally constituted body of notables drawn together to witness a land grant and demarcate boundaries. Their association with nāḍu chieftaincy is not borne out in records, and their link with administrative functions appears tenuous in the present state of knowledge.

The Gāvuṇḍas and their Dual Role in the Polity

The gāvuṇḍas were the backbone of the early medieval state in southern Karnataka. As landlords and local notables, the state utilised their services to collect taxes and maintain records of land ownership. They also rendered military service to the king and the other overlords. This section explores the various roles played by this important class in society as evidenced from inscriptions and literature.

The gāvuṇḍas were drawn from the peasantry. Vikramaditya Gāvuṇḍa, the *Koḷālaviṣayādhipati* who was granted Bedirur grāma by Bhuvikrama Ganga in AD 634–35, is one of the earliest gāvuṇḍas to be mentioned in an inscription (Ramesh 1984, 111–18 no. 29). He is described as a pure Sudra (sat shudra), which implies his peasant extraction. The term gāvuṇḍa has the following connotations: (i) the (sudra) Chief Officer of a village, (ii) a title of honour among peasants, and (iii) a good caste of peasant (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Gāvuḍa;* Sircar 1966, q.v. *Gāvuṇḍa*). The peasant extraction of the gāvuṇḍas is further borne out by the Tallapalli and Pilavara inscriptions (both from Bowringpet taluk, Kolar district) of the eighth century. These record the deaths of Bolva Ganga Gāmuṇḍa (Rice 1905, 10: Bp 13) and Anna

Gāmuṇḍa (Shama Sastri 1924–25, no. 73) in battles between Ganga Shrivibhava Mutta-arasa and a Bana. Both the heroes are described as tenants (okkal) of Kogali and Manayatur respectively.

By the tenth century, however, the gāvuṇḍas as a section of society were distinct from the other classes of tenants, as the Tayalur inscription (Maddur taluk, Mandya district) of AD 907 indicates (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Mu 56). This inscription records the construction of a tank at Tayalur by Kaccavara *Poḷalaśeṭṭi*. The gāvuṇḍas and okkal of Kadarur then got together to grant thirty-five khaṇḍugas of land to him, of which five khaṇḍugas were for personal enjoyment after the payment of the pattondi tax on the remaining thirty khaṇḍugas. Apart from recording the separate identities of the gāvuṇḍas and okkal, the Tayalur inscription also implies that the local assembly comprising of the gāvuṇḍas and the okkal could levy taxes and dispose of lands independently of any superior authority. This is further attested to by the Doddahomma inscription (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of AD 977, which records the grant of lands by the Twelve (pannirvaru) of Piriyaholma and Ayyapa Gāvuṇḍa, and a contribution of one load from the land of each okkal, ten koḷagas of paddy (bhatta) and a pair of bullocks *(balivatta* [?]*)*, probably at Piriyaholma itself, for the temple *(sthāna)* of Śakti Pariṣe (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 294). Although the composition of the local assembly in this case is not known, it could, together with the Gāvuṇḍa who was probably the headman, grant lands and levy contributions from the okkal without reference to a superior power.

Like the Doddahomma inscription, which provides no hint as to the composition of the Twelve, there are several records that refer to local groups merely in numerical terms.[9] The membership of these bodies thus cannot be precisely determined. In Tamil Nadu, the local corporate bodies of the ūr were composed of the local landholding elite, the *veḷḷālar* (Subbarayalu 1989, 5). It is possible to posit similarly that the majority of the local corporations mentioned in the inscriptions were composed of

[9] Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 187, 282; 1975, 4: Ch 82, 147, 347; 1975, Ko 10; 1975, Yl 138; Rice 1902, 7: Sk 219; 1905, 9: Ht 12; Narasimhacharya 1920, 24, etc.

the gāvuṇḍas, the Karnataka counterpart of the veḷḷālar. There is evidence in at least two cases of the membership of the gāvuṇḍas in these local bodies. A tenth-century record from Nagarale (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district), which registers the grant of an enclosed black-soil field (muttere) by Vidyadharayya for the temple of Nannayya at Nagarala, mentions the Twelve of Nagarala together with the (inhabitants of) Sakkile, Belgundur, Kiruvelgundur, Sattiyur and Singur, the assembly *(mahāpariṣe)* and the three Nāḷgāvuṇḍas of Edenāḍu as witnesses (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 239). A fragmentary inscription from the same place and of the same period also mentions Vidyadharayya and the Twelve Gāvuṇḍas of Nagarala (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 240). It is more than probable that the Twelve of Nagarala referred to in the earlier record relate to the Twelve Gāvuṇḍas in this inscription; in other words, the Twelve of Nagarala were gāvuṇḍas.

Another reference to gāvuṇḍas constituting a local body comes from the Mangala inscription (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century. This records the grant of four khaṇḍugas of wet land (nīr maṇṇu) as a gift for the maintenance of a tank (kereyegoḍage) by the Twelve Gāvu(ṇḍas) of Mangala (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 141). Another inscription dated AD 964 records the grant of twelve paḷḷis to Pergaḍe Macayya, the Gāvuṇḍa of Mangala (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 138). There is no reference to the Twelve Gāvuṇḍas in this record, nor does it specify whether Macayya was the headman of Mangala or merely one of the numerous landholders of the village.

Inscriptions from Shimoga clearly mention gāvuṇḍas as headmen. The expression used is *"ūrgāmuṇḍu gēyyuttire"* (held or exercised by the Gāvuṇḍa of the ūr). Thus the Bettadakurali inscription (Sorab taluk) of AD 954–55 refers to Bittiga holding the nāḷgāvuṇḍu while Sesigal held the gāvuṇḍu of Bivanur (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 202). The Belagi insciption (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) indicates that nāḷgāvuṇḍas were drawn from among the ūrgāvuṇḍas of a nāḍu (Krishna 1929, 150 no. 78). It is not clear whether nāḷgāvuṇḍas always held the headship of the nāḍu and the ūr concurrently, as in this case, but that this might have been the usual practice is indicated also by the Mudlupalya inscription (Magadi taluk, Bangalore district) of AD 968, which records the death of Dadiga, the son of Gangagacca, the Nāḷgāvuṇḍa of Manne nāḍu-300 in defence of his village (Rice 1905, 9: Ma 75).

Though neither Dadiga nor Gangagacca is specifically stated to have been the Ūrgāvuṇḍa, the death in defence of the village might possibly indicate that this was the case.

Two inscriptions from Malurpatna (Channapatna taluk, Bangalore district) also support the inference drawn from the Belagi inscription that nāl̤gāvuṇḍas were derived from the village headmen's ranks. Thus, Kottayyan Uttaman, alias Sola Viccadira Kamundaṇ, who is mentioned as the Gāvuṇḍa of Manalur in a Malurpatna record of AD 1013 (Rice 1905, Cp 135) is referred to as the *Nāṭṭu* Gāvuṇḍa in a record of the following year (1905, 9: Cp 129). It is not clear whether Kottayyan Uttaman concurrently held the two offices. In AD 1007 the Nāṭṭu Gāvuṇḍa was one Sola Vijjadiva Kamundan (Rice 1905, 9: Cp 132).

That the ūrgāvuṇḍu or nāl̤gāvuṇḍu implied headship of the ūr or nāḍu is further indicated by the Bharangi inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimaga district) of AD 957, which, after stating that Erega held the ūrgāvuṇḍu of Bharangi, records a cattle raid by Pebba (Gā)vuṇḍa of Bharangi (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 326). Pebba Gāvuṇḍa was evidently a landholder in the village but was not the headman. It is possible that this record shows the beginnings of a bifurcation within the gāvuṇḍas into the prabhu gāvuṇḍas and *praje gāvuṇḍas*, which was to crystallise in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Chattopadhyaya 1990, 106).

This is not to say that there are no references to more than one individual holding the ūr or nāḍu headship. Thus, the Bechirakh Kodipura inscription (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century records the conferment of the gāvuṇḍu of Gattavadi on the Selabhyeyaru and the Aneyaru. The inscription is not very clear on whether the latter names referred to two groups or two families. It further appears to register the construction of a tank by them and gifts of land for its maintenance (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 320). Similarly, the Nagarale inscription cited earlier mentions the three Nāl̤gāvuṇḍas of Edenadu as witnesses to the grant (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 239). The Gattavadi plates (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of Ereyanga II record that the boundaries of Shivayyamangala were demarcated by the Nāl̤gāvuṇḍas together with the (assemblies of the) ūrs of Karggere, Perggeyvadi, Kavilande, Multi, Bellamvadi and Gattavadi after exchanging betel leaves and areca nuts *(tāmbūla śravaṇa geydu)* as tokens of agreement (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 402).

The Gattavadi plates imply that demarcating boundaries in consultation with local notables was a function of the nāḷgāvuṇḍas. This is also brought out by the tenth-century Chikmagalur inscription (Chikmagalur town), which records a grant of land to Permāḍi Gonda. The lands were demarcated by Nāḷgāvuṇḍa Biyala together with Komarayya of Piriyamuguli, Mendamma of Palmadi, Devagana of Benneyur, Permāḍi Gāmuṇḍa of Mallavur, Chamayya of Urppavalli and Vittiyya of Indavur (Rice 1901, 6: Cm 3).

Collection of taxes was another responsibility of the nāḷgāvuṇḍas. This is attested by the Ishvarahalli inscription (Chikmagalur taluk, Chikmagalur district) of the ninth century (Shama Sastri 1922–23, 40 no. 4). Likewise, the Sulidenahalli inscriptions (Kolar taluk, Kolar district) of AD 1017–18, which record the levy of a contribution of a goat per inhabitant [?] of Kaivara nāḍu by the Nāḍu assembly (Nāṭṭār) for the guardian deity of the nāḍu, hold the nāṭṭu gāvuṇḍas and the ūrgāvuṇḍas responsible for the execution of the gift. If they failed to supply the goat they were to be fined a hundred kaḷañjus (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 25, 26).

As local notables, gāvuṇḍas were generally enlisted as witnesses to grants. Thus the Baligami inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 685, which records the remission of tax *(ālavaṇa)* on festival days *(osageyum)* and the escheat of heirless persons by Kandarbor, the officer *(adhikāri)* of Sendraka Mahārāja, includes Sokka Gāvuṇḍa of Alamvalli, Edeya Gāvuṇḍa, Maniya Gāvuṇḍa of Mole-ur, Andugiya Gāvuṇḍa and Sindhera Gāvuṇḍa of Nirilli (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 154). Similarly, the Ganjam copper-plates (Srirangapatna taluk, Mandya district) of Yuvarāja Marasimha includes Marasimha Gāvuṇḍa and Ereganga Gāvuṇḍa of Muduguppe, Urkane Gāvuṇḍa and Bhima Gāvuṇḍa of Maravur, Shriya Gāvuṇḍa of Bellimani, Uttama Gāvuṇḍa and Kunda Gāvuṇḍa of Perbbala and Ripurama Gāvuṇḍa and Prthivi Gāvuṇḍa of Samgama in its list of witnesses (Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Sr 66). A similar list is given in the Galigekere copper-plates of Ranavikramayya (Nitimarga Ereyanga I) of the ninth century, which records the grant of Kolanelluru as brahmadēya. The witnesses were Permānaḍi Gāvuṇḍa of Samgama, Ranavikrama Gāvuṇḍa, Chola Gāvuṇḍa, Ummada Gāvuṇḍa of Miride, Ereyanga Gāvuṇḍa, Indara Gāvuṇḍa of Muduguppe, Dama Gāvuṇḍa, Ummada Gāvuṇḍa of Pervolalu and Pilduvi Gāvuṇḍa. Other

witnesses were Tenandakara of Pervayalu and Salattar and Varadar of Kolanelluru (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: Kn 105).

It was common in the South India of the early medieval period for subordinates to bear the titles or names of the reigning king. This practice was particularly prevalent among the gāvuṇḍas in Karnataka, as the Ganjam and Galigekere plates indicate, and became commonplace when the Cholas conquered this region. Thus, the Soladevanahalli inscription (Nelamangala taluk, Bangalore district) of AD 1029, which records the grant of twelve khaṇḍugas of wet land as dēvabhōga, mentions the following individuals:

(i) Rattakulakala Chola Gāvuṇḍa, the Nāḷgāvuṇḍa of Kukkanur nāḍu and Nityavinoda Manikka Śeṭṭi of Banapura, both of whom received gold from the donor Vamanayya,
(ii) Vikrama Chola Gāvuṇḍa,
(iii) Rajaraja Śeṭṭi of Piriya Maltuvur,
(iv) Chola Gāvuṇḍa of Alur,
(v) Nāḷgāvuṇḍa Kumarankusa Gāvuṇḍa of Sanne nāḍu,
(vi) Uttama Chola Gāvuṇḍa of Pattanda,
(vii) Nāḷgāvuṇḍa Chola Gāvuṇḍa of Kirukundacci nāḍu,
(viii) Mummadi Chola Gāvuṇḍa of Balevadi in Manne nāḍu, and
(ix) Chalukyabharana Gāvuṇḍa of Kirugudalu,

all of whom were witnesses (Rice 1905, 9: Nl 1). All these are names or birudas of various Chola monarchs.

The process by which a gāvuṇḍa took on the name or title of the reigning king is described in the Karshanapalle inscription (Chittoor district, Andhra Pradesh) of the late-tenth or early-eleventh centuries. This records that Vira Mahendra II Nolamba, on his way from Chola nāḍu to Nolambavadi, stopped at Kolala in Ganga-6,000 and anointed Kirtti Gāvuṇḍa's son *(paṭṭavam kaṭṭi)*. The anointed individual was apparently given the title of Nōḷamba Gāvuṇḍa and the gift of Belagatur in Pulinattakere (Shama Sastri and Rao 1939, vol. 9 pt. 1: 22 no. 39). The Karshanapalle inscription thus brings out the ties of personal allegiance that bound the gāvuṇḍas to the king and the process by which they were vested with rights over villages.

While the grant of Belagatur to Nōḷamba Gāvuṇḍa was apparently made in the expectation of future service, the Dhanugur inscription (Malavalli taluk, Mandya district) of AD 960 records the grant of Dhanugur in Badagare nāḍu as a kalnāḍ to Gāvuṇḍa

Biyalamma. Confusingly, the inscription also records the grant of the same village to Acama of Dharamukhyanvaya as a kalnāḍ in perpetuity (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ml 50). It is possible that the grant initially made to Acama was entrusted to Biyalamma, a kinsman, although this is not clear from the epigraph. The deed performed by either Acama or Biyalamma is also not specified, but the term kalnāḍ would imply a recognition of military service performed by either individual.[10] Similarly, an undated ninth-century record from Iggali (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) registers the grant of Madigere as estate *(vaḷita)* (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Vaḷita, Vaṇita*) by Pilduvi Ganga to Adhikari Gāvuṇḍa, Charama Gāvuṇḍa and Shivaya Gāvuṇḍa for protecting the cattle of Iggali (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 205). Numerous such instances of participation by gāvuṇḍas in local and inter-dynastic conflicts and in grants of land and villages can be cited.

Thus, whether as a rural landholding elite or as fief-holders, gāvuṇḍas emerged as an important section of intermediaries between the king and the tiller. There is not much information, however, on the rights held by the gāvuṇḍas in village lands. Grants of villages as kalnāḍ occasionally carried with it the rights of abhyantara siddhi, which denoted control over the entire resources of a village and, perhaps, the rights of adjudication as well. Sarva bādhā parihāra or exemption from all dues was also a frequently employed term to qualify such grants, although the Tayalur inscription (Maddur taluk, Mandya district) indicates that even such lands carried the burden of some dues, whether payable to the king or the village assembly. This is similar to the tax-free grants *(iṟaiyili)* mentioned in Chola inscriptions, which definitely brought in some taxes to the king (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Sarvamānya*).

There is evidence of *kāṇi* rights being held by influential individuals who bore the titles of *Araiyan, Vēlān* and *Ālvān* in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Tamil Nadu. The right of kāṇi, in the opinion of N. Karashima, denoted a hereditary right of possession of land (Karashima 1984b, 18–20). It was later replaced by the Persian term *mīrās*, which included not merely

[10] Sircar 1966 q.v. *Kalnāḍ*, explains the term as the setting up of a hero-stone. In the records dealt with here, however, the term is always used in connection with grants to heroes.

the right to a plot of land but a complex of rights to lands, houses, water, etc., and the enjoyment of taxes and privileges (Karashima 1984a, 175ff). Similar rights and privileges were apparently held by service assignees in southern Karnataka as well in the period under study. Whether the ordinary gāvuṇḍa landholders held such rights is not clear from the sources, but the headship of the nāḍu, at least, carried these perquisites. This is indicated by the Belagi inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district), which states that the nāl̤gāvuṇḍu of Jidduralge-70 included the living *(bāl̤ige)* of Balligami (Krishna 1929, 150 no. 78).

In some cases there are references to more than one individual holding the gāvuṇḍu, whether of an ūr or of a nāḍu. A similar situation is described by F. Perlin in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Maharashtra, where many different individuals could hold shares in the headship of a village *(mokadami)* or of a district *(deshmukhi)*. Even with many people holding rights to the produce of a given village or territory, each individual held a well-defined legally protected channel through which his writ ran. Such rights could be sold and purchased freely in seventeenth-century Maharashtra, and were held as property (Perlin 1985, 135–38). There is evidence of the sale and transfer of mīrāsi rights and of ownership of shares *(paṇgu)* in a mīrāsi for the same period in Tamil Nadu as well. (Karashima 1984a, 176). However, although there are references in the southern Karnataka of the period under study to more than one individual holding a gāvuṇḍu, which also probably implied a well-defined legal channel for the exploitation of resources, there is no evidence of the free sale and transfer of such rights and privileges; rather, the gāvuṇḍu was either hereditary or was conferred by the king or overlord.

That gāvuṇḍas were part of the feudatory hierarchy is indicated not merely in inscriptions but also in literary works such as the *Vaḍḍārādhane*. In the story of Vrshabhasena Bhatara in this work, king Pradyota of Ujjeni marries the daughter of an ūrgāvuṇḍa and bestows the crown of the chief queen *(mahādēvivaṭṭa)* on her (Narasimhachar 1986, 155). In other contexts kings appear to have attached great importance to the kula when entering into matrimonial alliances. The marriage of a gāvuṇḍa's daughter to a king and her rise to the status of a chief queen would indicate the basic unity in the ranks of the land-holding elite.

While the majority of the gāvuṇḍas emerged from the class of cultivating tenants, there are some references to gāvuṇḍas belonging to tribes and other occupational groups. Evidently, the term gāvuṇḍa came to denote chiefship of a community or group. Thus the eighth-century Basavatti inscription (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) mentions Kalipattodeya *Kuṟimba Gāvuṇḍa* (chief of shepherds [?]) who, together with Katakaya was granted two khaṇḍugas of land, the proceeds of taxes on land (maṇṇadeṟe) and the remission of taxes on shepherds (kuṟimbadeṟe) for all time *(ellā kālakkam)* (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 126). Although the extent of stratification in the ranks of the shepherds cannot be determined from the available evidence, the grant recorded in this inscription would have had the effect of raising the Gāvuṇḍa above the community. The reason for the grant is not stated. It is possible that it represented the process of the assimilation of the community of shepherds into the Ganga political structure.

The Belachavadi inscription (Gundlupet taluk, Mysore district) of AD 1013 records the grant of Naranagala village to Melarodeya Marayya by Jeduvara Ereyanga Gāvuṇḍa and Kuruvatti Bēḍa Gāvuṇḍa of Peraya (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Gu 48). Both were apparently subordinates of Permāḍi Gāvuṇḍa, who held the position of nāl̤gāvuṇḍu. Jeduvara Gāvuṇḍa was probably the head of the weaver community (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Jēḍa*), while Bēḍa Gāvuṇḍa was the chief of the Bedas, a hunters' tribe (1986, q.v. *Bēḍa*). It is interesting to note that both chiefs made these grants apparently without reference to their superior. It is not quite clear how they came to possess rights over Naranagala, since both belonged to Peraya. At all events, both Jeduvara Ereyanga Gāvuṇḍa and Kuruvatti Bēḍa Gāvuṇḍa were part of the early medieval state polity, making grants of a village, probably to a brahmana though this is not clearly specified.

Gāvuṇḍas thus played a vital role in the early medieval state in southern Karnataka. Either as individuals or as a corporate group, they held chiefships of villages and nāḍus and in that capacity enjoyed perquisites of lands, houses and taxes. It appears that gāvuṇḍas were organised corporately in the Kaveri valley, while in the Shimoga and Bangalore districts headship was individually held. Their independent control of resources is also indicated by the fact that they frequently made grants in the post-eighth-century

period without reference to a superior. Occasionally, the grants made by them carried exemptions from local taxes but not from taxes due to the local ruler, as the Tayalur inscription (Maddur taluk, Mandya district) demonstrates. As chiefs and local notables, the gāvuṇḍas collected taxes, demarcated granted lands and stood witness to grants made by others. These functions related to their control of land in their native village, but occasionally gāvuṇḍas became land-holders and chiefs in another village or nāḍu by virtue of their services to the reigning king. As feudal subordinates, gāvuṇḍas were expected to render military service and were rewarded accordingly. They bore the titles of their overlords as token of submission. The majority of the gāvuṇḍas were derived from the peasantry; but by the tenth century the term gāvuṇḍa could also denote the headship of other communities assimilated into the early medieval state.

Service Assignees

Apart from feudatories, whether of recognised ruling lineages or obscure origins, service assignees formed a major section of the variegated ranks of secular feudatories. The majority of the service assignments recorded were made to heroes who perished in local or interlineage conflicts. Grants were made by local corporate bodies, by local chieftains or headmen as well as by rulers, and ranged from small plots of land for the dependants of a local hero to whole villages or even larger politico-geographical units depending on the hero's status and service. Generally, but not invariably, these grants, called kalnāḍ or *bāḷgaḷcu*, were made posthumously. Inscriptions, by and large, state that the deceased hero received the grant, whereas the actual recipients were the heirs and dependents. It is worth noting that while the majority of the heroes received grants, a significant number of hero-stones merely commemorated the deeds of valour of the local hero and did not record any grants made to them or their dependants.

While grants made to heroes account for the major portion of the secular-service grants, there are also records registering some kind of contract between an overlord and a vassal, which was symbolised by the tying of a chaplet (paṭṭa). Grants of land usually accompanied the act, and sometimes the anointed individual went on to make a brahmadēya or dēva dāna grant after receiving

lands from his superior. Contemporary literature links such anointing ceremonies with battles, with the commander-in-chief being bestowed the victory chaplet *(virapaṭṭa)* by the king. Such a concatenation of events is not brought out in epigraphic sources.

Literary sources also highlight the close, mutual bonds between the king and his warriors. The king supported the warrior materially, in return for which the warrior was obliged to fight even to the death in his master's interests. This obligation, termed *jōḷapāḷi* in literary works, is not much attested to in the records. However, a special class of warriors who were obliged to die with their masters is frequently mentioned in inscriptions; these warriors were termed vēḷevāḷis and were recipients of kalnāḍ grants.

GRANTS TO HEROES OF LOCAL SKIRMISHES

As stated above, grants to heroes covered a vast range, from a small plot of land donated by local rulers – village headmen, corporate groups or local chiefs – to heroes who perished in defence of a village or in cattle raids, to grants of a whole village to a faithful retainer or local notable in recognition of his services by his overlord. The latter sometimes extended to the position of a nāḷgāvuṇḍa for the family members of a hero or sometimes even lordship of a whole politico-geographical unit.

An early instance of the small-scale grants of land made to heroes who perished in local skirmishes is provided by the Hulikunda inscription (Bowringpet taluk, Kolar district) of the mid eighth century, which records the grant of four koḷagas of land for Nagadeva, who rescued cattle, by Miligeya-arasu and Attani (Rice 1905, 10: Bp 48). Likewise, the Balla hero-stone (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district) of c. AD 780 records the death of Turuvalla Uvalan in a cattle raid on Balla by Karapuran, the son of Ranamukha Dutta. Uvalan received five koḷagas of land, yielding one paddy crop, from Masarakuttiyaru and Attani in appreciation of his valour (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 92). The two donors seem to have been local notables. Similarly, the Hebatta inscription (Shrinivaspur taluk, Kolar district) of c. AD 870 records an invasion of Perbatta by Aggala of Bidirur. Bidiyeta, who fought in this battle presumably as a defender of Perbatta, received a grant of one koḷaga of land with all exemptions from Brahmashiva

Bhatara (Rice 1905, 10: Sp 27). Perbatta was the seat of a Shaiva monastic establishment and Brahmashiva Bhatara was probably its pontiff at the time. A similar grant of land is recorded in the fragmentary Toremavu inscription (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district), which is assigned to the ninth century on palaeographic grounds. This registers the grant of five koḷagas of cultivable (bede) land to Kuppa, the younger brother of Kaliyanna, who appears to have perished in a cattle raid (tuṟugōḷ). Unfortunately, it is unclear who the donor was in this case. A gāvuṇḍa is mentioned earlier in the inscription, but the damage to the stone makes it difficult to come to any conclusion on this matter (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 180).

An interesting case of a small-scale grant made to a local hero is recorded in the tenth-century Honnur inscription (Yelandur taluk, Mysore district). This record, dated in the third regnal year of Permānaḍi, registers the grant of five koḷagas of cultivable land under the tank for Ponnavayya, who died in a cattle raid. The grant was made by Ponnavayya's elder *(piriya)*, who also planted the stone. It is not clear who this elder was. Was he a member of Ponnavayya's family, or was he a respected senior member of the village? The question is open to speculation (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Yl 14).

Occasionally, such kalnāḍ grants were made by corporate groups. This is brought out by the Bhaktarahalli hero-stone (Sidlaghatta taluk, Kolar district) of c. AD 870, which records the death of Tinganimara Melitingani in a rescue of the cattle of Madalur carried off by Kakkara. The Seventy-four *(ēḻpattanāllaru)*, possibly of Madalur, made a grant of five koḷagas of rice land and five of waste land (ūrpāḷ) (Rice 1905, 10: Sd 32). The social composition of this corporate group cannot be discerned from the available evidence, but it is interesting to note that they had the authority to alienate waste lands. Thus, these inscriptions also bring out the steady whittling down of common rights in the waste lands. A similar grant of waste lands is recorded in the Tinnilli inscription (Shrinivaspur taluk, Kolar district) of c. AD 880, which registers the death of Pottalgagi in the rescue of cattle for which he received one khaṇḍuga of paddy land (kaḻani) and five koḷagas of waste land. In this case, however, it is unclear who the donor(s) was (Rice 1905, 10: Sp 50).

Another instance of a grant to a hero made by a corporate group comes from an inscription at Bagali (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district), assignable on palaeographic grounds to the tenth century. This records the death of Pemmanna, the son of Benniyamma Śeṭṭi of Banalli, in an attack against Desinga. The Samaya thereupon made a grant, which was received by his younger brothers Vali and Mani; the other details of the grant are lost (Gopal et. al. 1975, 4: Ch 115). A Samaya has been explained among other things as an assemblage, congregation or company (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Samaya;* Sircar 1966, q.v. *Samaya*). Its composition is unknown in this case, although it is possible to assume that it was a mercantile body, given that the deceased hero was the son of a śeṭṭi. The record seems to indicate that corporate groups had their own militias (Jha 1981–82, 91). This possibility is supported by the Devarahalli inscription (Gundlupet taluk, Mysore district) of the eighth century, which records the valour of the Seventy of Upagola, Namanda and others in the battle of Kosarupulti. They received lands at Punisur free of all imposts, probably from Durvinita Ereyanga (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Gu 207). The Seventy was evidently a corporate group of landowners who had joined Durvinita Ereyanga, the son of Shripurusha Ganga, in his military exertions either personally or by sending their retainers. The land grant's extent is not specified, nor is it clear how the lands would be distributed among the members of the group. It is interesting to note, moreover, that the lands granted were in another settlement, thus giving this corporate group from Upagola control over agrarian resources in another village as well.

It was not merely the mercantile and landowning groups that had militias of their own. The Nukkanahalli hero-stone (Kolar taluk, Kolar district) of the mid ninth century states that Bana-arasa was at war with the Mahājanas (of, in all probability, Nekkundi nāḍu, since his army was sent to invade that nāḍu). In the war that ensued at Pulikurukki Nagagutta-arasa, evidently fighting on behalf of Bana-arasa, slew many and then died. He received the kalnāḍ grant of Bellamparavi village with all exemptions (sarva bādhā parihāra) (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 200). The outcome of the war is not stated, unfortunately, but it is interesting that the king should be at conflict with the Mahājanas. As noted earlier, kings usually supported the brahmanas with lavish grants

as brahmadēyas. The army of the Mahājanas appears here to be on par with that of the Bana chieftain, an obvious indication of the power of the Mahājanas in their own right. As in the case of the Seventy of Upagola, it not clear whether the Mahājanas fought themselves or hired mercenaries for their army. In this connection the armed groups of brahmanas associated with *ālai*s and ghaṭikas in the Tamil country is brought to mind (Narayanan 1970, 76). There is no similar evidence for such institutions in Karnataka, but it is possible that the brahmadēyas had associated groups of militant brahmanas. Mayura Sharman Kadamba started his career as a soldier while a student at the famed ghaṭika at Kanchi (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 176). Other brahmanas from Karnataka may have been similarly associated with that ghaṭika, as the Keregodu plates attest.[11]

Apart from possessing fighting forces of their own and granting land for the support of the dependants of deceased heroes belonging to the local community, corporate groups also acted as witnesses to such grants. Thus, the fragmentary Hegganuru inscription (Heggadedevanakote taluk, Mysore district) lists the *Pērvāṇas* (*Pērbārva* [Ramesh 1984, 108], the Kannada version of Mahājana [?]) and merchants (vaṇigas) from Kundattur, Madamangala, Velattur, Mattur, Pasur and Komtamangala among the witnesses to a blood grant (nettar paṭṭi) (Ramesh 1984, 110; Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 112). The details of the donor, donee and the grant itself are lost since the record is fragmentary.

Grants to heroes who fell in purely local skirmishes were usually small in scale, amounting to few koḷagas of paddy land or a few khaṇḍugas at most. Such heroes usually came from humble backgrounds, but even gāvuṇḍas occasionally received similar small-scale grants. A tenth-century hero-stone from Kurgal (Piriyapatna taluk, Mysore district) records the death of two gāvuṇḍas of Kurgallu in a cattle raid. They received three khaṇḍugas of land as kalnāḍ from Ereyanga, the ruler of Kongal nāḍu-8,000, and not, interestingly, from Paramabbe, who was said to be ruling Kurgallu at that time (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Pp 28). It is unclear

[11] Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Md 14 refers to a brahmana Naga Sarma of Vatsa gōtra, one of fifty-six donees, as *ghaṭikā sāhasa*, marking his association with ghaṭikās. See Appendix III, no. 33.

whether the grant of three khaṇḍugas was made individually or jointly to the two heroes. In contrast, the Mangala inscription (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of AD 965 records the grant of twelve hamlets (paḷḷi) to the Gāvuṇḍa of Mangala for defeating Gariya, apparently on behalf of Marasinghadeva (II) (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 138). The criterion for the magnitude of the grants seems to be the scale of the conflict: purely local skirmishes apparently merited only small grants, while death in battle on behalf of the regional overlord entitled heroes to larger grants.

Grants were made by local notables, the local corporate groups and, occasionally, by rulers of the nāḍu. Defence of the village, its cattle and women seems to have been the responsibility of every able-bodied man in the village (Settar and Kalaburgi 1982, 28). In return, the local authorities supported the dependants of the deceased, which was the main purpose of these grants. G. R. Kuppuswamy, however, is of the opinion that in most cases these were merely token grants, and it is doubtful whether they were sufficient to maintain the surviving family (Kuppuswamy 1982, 311). It is very difficult to come to a conclusion on the adequacy of these grants in view of the fact that there is no information on the cost of living and the productivity of the land in those times, but they do seem to have been very limited in size in most cases.

As mentioned earlier, a large number of hero-stones are of a purely commemorative kind and do not seem to include grants to the deceased hero. Most of these heroes had perished in local skirmishes in defence of their village or in cattle raids. Thus, the Kalgundi hero-stone (Arsikere taluk, Hassan district) records the death of Pergaḍe Nāyaka in the destruction of the village (ūr aḷivu) and cattle raid (tuṟugol) on Kalgundipura. It is not quite clear whether he was a raider or a defender, but the point to note here is that there is no grant recorded to him (Krishna 1937, 146 no. 21). Likewise, an inscription from Niduvani (Hole-Narsipur taluk, Hassan district) commemorates the death of Kencha, the younger brother *(tamma)* of Eca Gāvuṇḍa of Bidirhaka, in a cattle raid on Niduvani, but appears not to include a grant (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: HN 130). The Kittur hero-stone (Piriyapatna taluk, Mysore district) of AD 1008 similarly records the death of Channayya, the grandson of Kittur's Bijaya Gāvuṇḍa,

in a cattle raid. Again, there is no record of a grant made for the hero. The hero's younger brother is said to have set up the memorial stone after the funeral obsequies *(parōkṣa kriyā)* (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Pp 144). There does not seem to have been even a grant for sustaining the rites of the memorial. A similar instance is provided by the Siddaiyapura hero-stone (Gundlupet taluk, Mysore district) from the close of the ninth century, which records the death of Kavadodera, the son of Terareliya, in a cattle raid. The stone was set up by the hero's daughter, Tatabbe. There was no grant either for his dependants or for the maintenance of the memorial stone and associated rituals (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Gu 206).

An interesting story is recorded in the Alattur hero-stones (Gundlupet taluk, Mysore district) of the ninth century (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Gu 36, 37). These record the deaths of merchants in a cattle raid on Atti in Chola nāḍu, where they had gone to trade (paradu pōgi). It is not quite clear whether these merchants were the aggressors or the defenders. It is possible that they were cattle traders, given the vigorous pastoral and cattle-breeding tradition of the southern Karnataka region. If this is so, the two heroes commemorated here, Tippanna and the (unnamed) son of Bappa Śeṭṭi, died in defence of their merchandise. If, on the other hand, they were aggressors, as the word tuṛugōl would indicate, the inscription would bring out the ambiguous nature of trade in the early medieval period, with merchants indulging in cattle raids during the course of their mercantile activities. The heroes of the Alattur hero-stones were honoured with memorial stones by members of their family. Tippanna's brother-in-law and Bappa Śeṭṭi's younger son set up the two stones. There is no grant for their maintenance.

A tenth-century record from Bandalli (Kollegal taluk, Mysore district) records the death of another travelling trader, apparently from Tamil Nadu. A man named ...ttayyan Kettan, alias Tisai Manikka Ceṭṭi, died of his wounds after killing a tiger. The stone was set up by his son, Kettan Masanan (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ko 69). To judge from the deceased hero's alias of Tisai Manikka Ceṭṭi, he would appear to be a travelling trader dealing in rubies and precious stones. Trade in exotic and luxury items was handled through itinerant guilds in this period (Champakalakshmi 1986, 38). The alias of this particular trader recalls the famous guild of Nānāḍēsiya Tiśai Āyirattu Ainurruvar, whose activities can be

dated back to at least the ninth century. It is possible than Kettan belonged to this organisation and that while in transit through southern Karnataka in the course of trade had the encounter with the tiger that is commemorated in the Bandalli hero-stone. Kettan and his son do not appear to have any roots in the locality in which this record was found. Kettan Masanan's dedication of the memorial stone to his father's memory was a private act, and it is therefore not surprising to find that the record does not include a grant. In the other cases mentioned above, however, it is not clear why no grant was made. The criteria that determined which local heroes would be honoured with a grant and which would not be so rewarded cannot be discerned. The social background of these heroes are as varied as those whose exploits were crowned with grants of land, however small. As will be seen below, some hero-stones recording services rendered to an overlord also failed to incorporate grants; the same problem of distinguishing the criteria for making grants appears there as well.

GRANTS TO HEROES OF INTERDYNASTIC CONFLICTS

In contrast to local heroes who fell in defence of their village or its cattle, or in an attack on a neighbouring settlement, heroes, particularly chieftains who fell in the service of their overlord, received large tracts of land, hamlets or villages and occasionally even whole units of villages. Loyal retainers who followed their lord in death were another set of individuals to receive munificent grants in recognition of their devotion. Occasionally, dependants and family members of the deceased heroes were honoured with titles and positions of influence, such as that of nāḷgāvuṇḍas. Very often these titles had been held by the deceased hero and were revested in their nearest relatives.

Among the early instances of large land grants are the Aralukote inscriptions (Shrinivaspur taluk, Kolar district) from the close of the eighth century. The first record registers the grant of Madegula to the descendants of Viramahameru, who died fighting Kaduvatti's force at the orders of Vidyadhara Prabhumeru Bana (Rice 1905, 10: Sp 6). The second registers the gift of Kulanellur with all exemptions (sarva bādhā parihāra) as a kalnāḍ to Viyala Vijyadhara, the son of Manasurarali Kaype, the hero (gaṇḍa) of Prabhukaype Tulige Vasantan, who died fighting the ḍāmarigas

on the command of his lord (āḷdana) Prabhumeru (Rice 1905, 10: Sp 5). The Nukkanahalli hero-stone (Kolar taluk, Kolar district) of the mid ninth century cited earlier (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 200) constitutes another instance of extensive land grants to heroes of exalted status. This hero-stone registers the grant with all exemptions (sarva bādhā parihāra) to Nagagutta-arasa, who fell fighting the Mahājanas of Nekkundi nāḍu. Likewise, the Iggali inscription (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of AD 892–93 records the death of Racheya Ganga in the invasion of Uttarillaga kōṭe during the course of a battle against Nolamma (Nolamba [?]). The deceased hero was given the villages of Iggali and Dudugere as kalnāḍ (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 204). His Ganga descent was probably the reason for the generous grant. A tenth-century hero-stone from Chikka Hanasoge (Krishnarajanagar taluk, Mysore district) records a yet more munificent kalnāḍ grant to an individual who was probably a Ganga descendant *(vaṁśaja)*. This inscription registers the gift of Kongu nāḍu-70; the donors were a certain Govindara and a corporate group, the Thousand *(sāsirvaru)* (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: Kn 41). The identity of Govindara is unclear, as is the composition of the Thousand, due to the fragmentary nature of the record. It is therefore difficult to discern the fountainhead from which they derived their authority to alienate an entire politico-geographical unit. It is possible that Govindara was one of the claimants to the Ganga throne, who was eliminated, along with the others, by Chavundaraya to clear the way for the accession of Rachamalla IV after the death of Marasimha II (Sheik Ali 1976, 153; Kulkarni 1975, 4, verse 21). If this is the case then the Chikka Hanasoge inscription records an episode in the war of succession following the death of Marasimha II, and possibly represents an effort by Govindara to win support for himself among members of the Ganga lineage by granting entire units to his partisans.

A series of hero-stones from the Hassan district register grants of villages to heroes who were either loyal retainers of various Ganga monarchs or their consorts or had perished in interdynastic conflicts. The Maruru inscription (Arkalgud taluk) from the early tenth century records the grant of ...nnanur with abhyantara siddhi right to Babiyamma, who immolated himself by fire on the death of Nitimarga Ereyanga II (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Ag 26).

Likewise, the Muttige inscription (Arkalgud taluk) registers the gift of Multage to Bedante Racheya, who died by fire on the death of Rachamalla (II [?]). The grant was received by Dhora, whose relationship to Bedante Racheya is not specified in the epigraph (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Ag 24). Yet another instance of a village granted to a loyal retainer is encountered in the Belgali inscription (Arkalgud taluk) of the mid tenth century. Unlike the Maruru and Muttige inscriptions the Belgali epigraph specifically includes the term vēḷe, but the act of following the lord in death is left out in it. The inscription registers the donation of Belgali to Ankada Katayya, the retainer (vēḷe) of Mahādēvi Revakanimmadi Ganga, and his successors in perpetuity. The record specifically states that Belgali was not be entered by nāḷgāvuṇḍas and nāḍbōvas for collection of such taxes as kiṟudeṟe and aṭṭadeṟe. The grant included the right of abhyantara siddhi a tax-free grant that vested in Ankada Katayya and his successors complete control over the resources of Belgali. Royal and local officials were specifically precluded from entry (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Ag 41). In this manner the royal domains of the Gangas were steadily eroded by the grants of villages as estates to service assignees.

Apart from these loyal retainers, other beneficiaries were heroes who perished in the interdynastic conflicts of the period. The Arakere hero-stone (Arsikere taluk, Hassan district), for instance, registers the grant of Arakere as a kalnāḍ to Shri Muttara, who died in the battle of Kalikatti against the Nolambas (Krishna 1942b, Ak 215). Shri Muttara was probably the ruler of Asandi nāḍu. If so, this would bear out the suggestion that grants of villages were made to heroes of high social status.

However, the status of deceased heroes cannot always be determined from available evidence. This is the case with the Masaganahalli hero-stone (Channarayapatna taluk, Hassan district) of AD 971, which records the grant of Nettur in Kalkali nāḍu as a kalnāḍ to Erigari, who died in the war against Rajaditya Chalukya of Uccangi (Rice 1902: Cn 262). Likewise, the Neralige inscription (Arsikere taluk, Hassan district) registers the gift of Nerilage to Annavasayya's son. Annavasayya had fallen in battle against the Nolambas (Krishna 1942b, Ak 237). His social status, as Erigari's, cannot be determined. On the other hand, Basa Gāvuṇḍa, whose death in the battle against Rajaditya for the fort

of Uccangi is recorded in the Karagada hero-stone (Belur taluk, Hassan district), received a grant of only five khaṇḍugas of land (Krishna 1942b, Bl 308). Apart from social standing, it is possible that another criterion for awarding grants was the actual gallantry displayed by the hero. It is noteworthy that the Hassan area should yield so many hero-stones relating to the interdynastic conflicts of the period. Was it a recruiting ground for the Ganga army? Interestingly, this region was to constitute the core of the Hoysala kingdom in the late eleventh century (Derrett 1957, 7).

Heroes were also rewarded by being conferred positions of authority, most often the nāḻgāvuṇḍu of a politico-geographical unit. Since these grants were posthumous, the actual beneficiaries were members of the heroes' families. The Kattemanuganahalli hero-stone (Heggadedevanakote taluk, Mysore district) from the close of the ninth century records the death in Pervayal of Rama, the son of Permānaḍi Gāvuṇḍa of Kuruvendur, in a cattle raid by the people of Bayal nāḍu on Kottamangala. Thereupon Permānaḍi (Satyavakya Rachamalla II) and Ereyanga granted the nāḻgāvuṇḍu, probably of Pervayal, in addition to the village of Kiruvusuvur, to Permānaḍi Gāvuṇḍa as a kalnāḍ (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 5). Similarly, the Ganganuru hero-stone (Arkalgud taluk, Hassan district) of AD 907 records the grant of a nāḻgāvuṇḍu to one Jinapadega who died in a battle. The donors were Permānaḍigaḷ and Ereyanga (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Ag 105). However, the inscription does not specify the nāḍu, nor the actual recipient of the grant, since it was made posthumously. The Bandalike inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 919–20 provides an interesting instance of the conferring of a nāḻgāvuṇḍu on the family member of a deceased hero. This epigraph records the death of Sattarara Nagarjuna, who was holding the nāḻgāvuṇḍu of Nagarakhanda-70 in pursuance of the orders of his overlord Kalivitta-arasa, the ruler of Banavasi-12,000. Thereupon the nāḻgāvuṇḍu was bestowed upon his wife, the Gāvuṇḍi Jakiyabbe. After seven years of lordship *(prabhusakti)*, she decided to renounce the world, perhaps owing to bodily illness, and accepted the vow (probably of voluntary death [sanyasana]). She appears to have been succeeded by her daughter, a succession that was apparently without validation by her feudal superiors (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 219). Unlike the Kattemanuganahalli and Ganganuru hero-stones, which record fresh grants of

nāḷgāvuṇḍu to families that had apparently not held such a position before, the Bandalike inscription concerns a family that already enjoyed power; the novelty of this record lies in the tale of the succession of the wife and later the daughter to the office. Was such a succesion the result of the absence of male heirs? No definite conclusion can be arrived at without more specific information.

Besides grants of land, entire villages and nāḍus and offices, cash gifts were also made, though they were rare, perhaps reflecting the essentially autarkic economy of the period. One such instance of a cash gift comes from the Hecche inscription (Sorab Taluk, Shimoga district) of c. AD 991. This record registers the grant of twenty-four coins *(pura dramma)* by Shantivarman-arasa, the Matura vaṁśi subordinate of Kakkaladeva, to Akatega, the retainer (vēḷe) of queen Gundadabbe. Akatega had vowed to sacrifice his head if the queen were to conceive and the king to have an heir. When this happened he gave up his head to the warriors (bhaṭa). The grant was entrusted to the Mahājanas of Elase (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 479). The dependents of Vēḷe Akatega possibly enjoyed the interest on the sum, though the record does not specifically state this. Alternatively, the Mahājanas ensured the performance of the rites at the funerary shrine. An earlier instance of a cash gift comes from the Mudigere inscription (Tarikere taluk, Chikmagalur district) from the close of the eighth century (Krishna 1942, 175–76 no. 47). This epigraph, from the reign of Mahā-sāmantādhipati Prabhutavarsa Shri Goyinda-arasa (Govinda III Rashtrakuta) records the conferment of the honour of *Prabhutuṇga Maryāde* (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Maryāde*) on Prabhutuṇga Mala. A cash gift of six gold coins (gadyāṇa) from the queen *(rāṇide)* and twelve gold coins (gadyāṇa) from Dandamattapa was made in addition to a sarva bādhā parihāra grant of land, the details of which are not given. It is not clear whether this grant was made as a reward for the valour of the donee; it is possible that the conferment of the honour with the title of Prabhutuṇga implied some kind of feudal tie between Govinda III and Prabhutuṇga Mala. The practice of bearing the overlord's title was a widespread one in the early medieval period, and was to be particularly marked under the Cholas (Subbarayalu 1982, 279–80).

As mentioned earlier, not all heroes were fortunate enough to receive munificent grants. The criteria that determined the

bestowal of grants cannot be discerned from available evidence. Thus, for instance, the Tatakallu hero-stone (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district) from the mid ninth century records the death of a Pallava who killed Ningaraya in an obscure battle. No grant was made, apparently, by the reigning Bana king (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 26). Likewise, the Bhairapura hero-stone (Channarayapatna taluk, Hassan district) of the eighth century records the death of Malvapatteya, the servant (āḷ) of Nirggunda-arasa in a battle against Kudi Muddan at the boundary (mēre) of the kingdom. No grant was made in appreciation of his valour (Rice 1902, 5: Cn 208). Similarly, the Kugaluru inscription (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century praises the valour of Keshavayya, who secured the bracelet of Indama-arasa and handed it over to the king before dying of his wounds. His services do not appear to have been rewarded (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 371). The most surprising instance of the failure to reward a hero comes from the tenth-century Jinnahalli record (Heggadedevanakote taluk, Mysore district), which chronicles the death of Machiya-arasa, the son of Ereyangappa of Ganga vaṁśa, who fought at the order of Guttiya Ganga in the battle against Nōḷambādhirāja (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 26). The reigning king was in all probability Marasimha II.[12] Why this scion of the Ganga race was not awarded a grant remains a mystery, particularly when it is recollected that grants of lands and villages were made to heroes of unknown pedigree who fought in the battles waged by Marasimha II; the grant of Kongu nāḍu-70 to an unnamed Ganga vaṁśaja by Govindara may also be recollected in this context.

In some other cases the fragmentary nature of the inscriptions makes it difficult to determine whether kalnāḍ grants were made or whether the epigraphs were merely of a commemorative kind. Such is the case with the Husukuru inscription (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of AD 870–71, which records an invasion by Buta-arasa I on some fort at the orders of Permānaḍi (Satyavakya Rachamalla II). The epigraph praises the valour of Chandiyanna, but since it is incomplete it cannot be determined whether a

[12] Guttiya Ganga was probably a title of Marasimha II, as seen on page 128.

grant was made or not (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 385). Similarly, the eighth-century Hebbalu hero-stone (Maddur taluk, Mandya district) records the prowess in the battle of Karmmaga Raca Irmadi Bira and Manalera of Kunungil against Vadi Chola (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Mu 36). The epigraph being incomplete, it once again cannot be determined whether a grant was made or not.

To conclude, while heroes who perished in minor intervillage skirmishes received token grants of land, those who participated in the endemic interdynastic conflicts of the period usually received more generous gifts of villages or even entire units. Thus Iruga, the son of Nagattara, was given the division of Bempur-12 in addition a chaplet (nāgattara paṭṭa) as a reward for his father's valour in the battle against Bira Mahendra at the end of the ninth century (Rice 1905, 9: Bn 83). However, there are also examples of high-born heroes whose valour went without reward, although it is possible that grants for heroes' dependants were made separately in some cases and were recorded in inscriptions that have not survived. This might explain instances in which the valour of the hero went unrewarded but not unsung. As before, the reasons and criteria that determined the magnitude of the grants cannot be discerned.

The dependants of such heroes, then, constituted another section of the variegated ranks of the secular intermediaries between the ruler and the tiller, yet another group of claimants to a share in the produce of the land. That they enjoyed powers analogous to the brahmana donees of brahmadēya grants is made clear by the inclusion of the terms sarva bādhā parihāra and abhyantara siddhi. In one case (Belaguli inscription [Arkalgud taluk, Hassan district] of the tenth century), the inscription specifies that royal and local officials were not to enter the village to collect taxes (Gopal et al. 1984, 7: Ag 41); thus, the donees would seem to have reaped the major share of the produce. While some of the donees were of high birth, many others were new entrants to the class of feudatories. In the case of the former, kalnāḍ grants confirmed their earlier titles and possessions with an occasional augmentation of additional power and property. In the latter case, the titles were newly bestowed; the beneficiaries were mostly loyal retainers or ordinary soldiers who had laid down their lives in the service of their lord. In local skirmishes the corporate groups such as the Mahājanas, the Samayas or the

ūr, who often possessed militias of their own, undertook to reward heroes who perished in defence of the interests of the local community. Although the scale of rewards was small in these instances, it speaks for the power of the local corporate groups that they could alienate waste lands, which were usually a part of the commons of the village communities as a whole.

Brahmanas and Sectarian Preceptors

BRAHMANAS

As seen earlier, the majority of the first-phase inscriptions were copper-plates registering brahmadēya grants. Such grants of villages and lands to śrōtrīya brahmanas continued to be made in the second phase as well, but their proportion in relation to the total declined markedly. The majority of second-phase records, whether copper-plate or lithic epigraphs, register grants to temples or to heroes, or are purely secular transactions such as the grant of a bittuvaṭṭa for a tank or remission of taxes. Most of the surviving brahmadēya grants of the second phase belong to the reign of Shripurusha Ganga (AD 725–88) and may be taken as representing the continuation of earlier trends. Shripurusha, in fact, emerges as a staunch supporter of brahmanical Hinduism. His Agali grant charter (Tumkur taluk, Tumkur district) states that his palace echoed to the sounds of religious ceremonies accompanying the mahādānas made by him every day (Ramesh 1984, 155–61 no. 42, ll. 34–35). No other Ganga monarch after him claims to have performed these rites.

Among the śrōtrīya brahmanas who benefited from Shripurusha's bounty were Bana Sharman of Vatsa gōtra and Taittiriya caraṇa, who received Baradur grāma in Tegattur viṣaya in Shripurusha's first regnal year (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: Kn 48); Ishvara Sharman of Haritayana gōtra and Chandoga *kalpa*, resident of Turugalur, who received house sites, garden lands, fields and forest lands in the third regnal year (Ramesh 1984, 152–54 no. 41); Nandishvara Sharman and his adoptive sons Madhava and Mara Sharman of Kashyapa gōtra, who were granted Agali village on the southern bank of Tolle river at Ededinde in Marugare viṣaya in the twenty-second regnal year (Ramesh 1984, 155–61 no. 42); 120 brahmanas (unnamed), well-versed in the

four branches of learning, who were granted Belpur village on the eastern bank of the Penne river in the Manale-alke-300 of Sinda viṣaya in the twenty-fifth regnal year (Rice 1901, 6: Mg 36); Madhava Sharman of Kashyapa gōtra, well-versed in the *Vājasaneya* Veda and resident of Tolur, who received lands, gardens, forest land and house sites in the four villages of Elangudalur, Mariyacigudalur, Paruvi and Shripuram in the thirty-seventh regnal year (1905, 10: Gd 47); and Nilakantha Sharman of Harita gōtra, who was given Komaramangala village in Pudukanda viṣaya at the request of Duggamara Ereyanga and his queen, Kanchi-abbe, for the spiritual benefit of Kanchi-abbe's deceased brother Indraraja (Ramesh 1984, 175–81 no. 47). Duggamara and Kanchi-abbe were probably also associated with a grant of wet lands and a garden to Vella Sharman of Maduregil, recorded in the Melagani lithic inscription (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district) of AD 767–68 (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 80). The donor in this record is not clearly specified, but since Duggamara and his mahādēvi Kanchi-abbe are mentioned in the preamble as the rulers of Kuvalala-300 and Agali respectively, they may have been the donors, or at least the sanctioning authority, for the gift, which appears to have been of a purely local character. The Hullenahalli copper-plates (Mandya taluk, Mandya district) also record a brahmadēya grant at the request of Dindigarar of Bana lineage, who was ruling Olnulu in Karbappu nāḍu; the beneficiaries were Janardana of Gargya gōtra, Keshava Bhatta of Kaushika gōtra and Naga Sharma of Kashyapa gōtra, each of whom received a portion of Kovalavettu village (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Md 14). The epigraph is undated.

Most of the above grants were in copper-plate charters and, with the exception of the Salem and Hullenahalli copper-plates, were made by the king on his own initiative. This would support the suggestion made above that Shripurusha Ganga was a staunch supporter of Vedic brahmanism. In addition, donation to temples (dēva dāna) and secular gifts were also made in his reign. In most cases, however, such dēva dāna grants were made by the king at the request of a subordinate, as in the case of the Devarahalli plates (Nagamangala taluk, Mandya district), which record grants to a Jaina temple called Lokatilaka at Shripuram at the request (vijñapti) of the Pṛthivī Nirggundarāja (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ng 149).

Alternatively, such grants were also made directly by the subordinate after a nominal reference to his overlord. Such was the case with the Narasimharajapura plates (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district [?]) of Shripurusha, which record the grant of Malavalli village by Nagavarma Gangaraja of the Pasindi Ganga family and his brother-in-law *(śyālah)* Tuluga-adi of the Kadamba family to the Jaina shrine (chaityālaya) at Tolla village. A subsidiary grant of a field, Dharma kṣētra, by Manali Mane-oḍeya is registered in the same inscription (Ramesh 1984, 253–56 no. 71). There are also numerous lithic records from Shripurusha's reign registering dēva dāna (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 147; 1974, 3: Hg 156; 1974, Gu 43, 67, etc.) and secular gifts (1976, 5: TN 46; 1974, 3: Nj 182; 1979, 7: Ml 122, etc.). Most of these grants were made by local notables or rulers, and the king was usually not connected with them.

Two copper-plates recording brahmadēya grants of Yuvarāja Marasimha still survive. The first is the Kottimba grant charter (Sidlaghatta taluk, Kolar district) of his third year, which records the grant of Kottimba village in Manya viṣaya and Alur, with its hamlet Vaydeut, in Kuruvale viṣaya to Shridhara of Bharadvaja gōtra, a performer of sacrifices (Ramesh 1984, 206–16 no. 50). This grant was apparently made by the Yuvarāja himself. The Ganjam copper-plates (Srirangapatna taluk, Mandya district), on the other hand, record the grant of Tipperur as brahmadēya to Ponnadi of Kaushika gōtra, the Oḍeya of Arppola, by Kolliya-arasa Kali Nōḷambādhirāja of Pallavanvaya and his son Nijarama Nayadhira with Marasimha's permission (Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Sr 66).

The Perjjarangi grant charter (Krishnarajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of Rachamalla I from his first regnal year grants the village of Perjjarangi in Ededinde-70 in Marugare viṣaya to Nagadeva Bhatta of Bharadvaja kula. The grant was made for the spiritual benefit of his parents and for his own fame (Ramesh 1984, 282–92 no. 90). Another grant from Rachamalla's reign, of which a brahmana was a beneficiary, was in the Manne copper-plates (Nelamangala taluk, Bangalore district) of AD 828. The charter registered the donation of Doddavadi village in Manya viṣaya for the ceremonies of food offerings *(bali)*, incense *(dhūpa)* and lamp *(dīpa)* at the temple of goddess Kiḷtabāleṛeti Bhaṭāri, established at Doddavadi by a Ganga prince, Mahendra. The grant was made at the behest of Mahendra and entrusted to Deva Sharman of

Kashyapa gōtra, a *Vaikhānasa* (a Vaishnava sect) who was said to be honoured in royal courts and favoured by the goddess (Settar 1976–77, 3: 32–34 no. 4). Thus, a dēva dāna grant was in this instance held by a brahmana trustee. In the Keregodi Rangapura plates (Tiptur taluk, Tumkur district) of Rachamalla II, however, the village Kedasur in Nirggunda viṣaya was given for repairs and renovation of the Ishvara temple at Alur and entrusted to Netrashiva Acarya, "a sun in the firmament of pure Shaivism" (Ramesh 1984, 340–49 no. 113). The caste affiliation of this ācārya is not clearly stated; since the title of ācārya is applied, however, he was probably a brahmana since such titles were used only by them.

An interesting variation on this theme of caste affiliation of sectarian preceptors is provided by the Kudlur plates (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) of Marasimha II of AD 962–63. This inscription records the grant of Bageyur village in Badagare nāḍu of Punnatu-6,000 in Gangapati to Vadighanghala Bhatta of Parashara gōtra and Chalukivadicha carana. The donee was, however, a Jaina preceptor and is described as "an ardent worshipper of Jinesvara" and an advisor to Krishna III Rashtrakuta. He is said to have won the esteem of all Krishna's feudatory chiefs *(maṇḍalika)* and sāmantas. His ancestors had migrated from Pippala agrahāra of the Varata dēśa in the north (Ramesh 1984, no. 411–32 138).

Vadighanghala Bhatta is in many ways similar to Pampa in that he is proud of both his brahmana ancestry and his Jaina faith. Pampa's ancestors were vaidika brahmanas. His forefather, Madhava *Somayaji*, had performed numerous sacrifices, notably the *sarvakratu yajña* (Anantharangachar 1977, XIV.42–43). Pampa's father, Abhimanadevaraya, is said to have rendered his high birth in the Vipra kula higher still by adopting the Jaina faith with its emphasis on compassion for all creatures (Anantharangachar 1977, XIV.48). Pampa, too, received an agrahāra named Dharmapura in Bacce nāḍu-1,000 in return for composing the *Vikramārjunavijayam* and thus establishing the fame of his patron, Arikesari (Anantharangachar 1977, XIV.55–56). Although both Vadighanghala Bhatta and Pampa were devout Jainas, they also took pride in their brahmana descent, which demonstrated that the caste system had pervaded Jainism by this time.

Vadighanghala Bhatta was not only a preceptor but also an advisor to the emperor Krishna III and possibly Marasimha II as well. His father was apparently a warrior, since he is described as having been "a delighter of the lord of the Varata country with his fierce valour" (Ramesh 1984, 411–32 no. 138). The tradition of brahmana participation in administration and war was an ancient one, as seen earlier. Such participation was eventually to lead to the adoption of the brahmakshatriya status by such brahmana families.

Among the prominent brahmanas employed by the Gangas in the second phase, mention may be made of Shivaryya of Kaushika gōtra. He is described in the Gattavadi plates (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) as a skilful pilot in steering the ship of the Ganga kingdom (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 402). The fragmentary Kerehalli plates (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of Nitimarga Ereyanga II also refer to one Shivaryya, probably identical with the donee of the Gattavadi plates, who appears to have maintained a thousand elephants in the Konga nāḍu viṣaya for his overlord Nitimarga Ereyanga II (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 357). The Gattavadi plates state that Shivaryya's forbears had migrated from Ahicchatra in the north to Tanagundur agrahāra in Vanavasi viṣaya (Banavasi-12,000). Such migrations are also referred to in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Ganga and Kadamba records in connection with their foundation myths (Liceria 1987, 122). Such immigrant groups were generally ascribed a higher status and were courted by chieftains and rulers in order to create a class of loyal intermediaries (Jaiswal 1979–80, 26–27). Shivaryya's brahmana identity was stressed by referring to his gōtra affiliation and by tracing his descent from immigrant northern brahmanas. In spite of his political, and possibly military, services to his overlord, Shivaryya does not seem to have adopted arly kshatriya attributes. Like many other members of the ruling class, Shivaryya constructed a tank by gathering the waters of three small rivulets. A new village, named Shivayyamangala, after him was established around the tank and was granted by the king to Shivaryya himself (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 402, ll. 76–80).

On the other hand, Chavundaraya, the loyal vassal of Marasimha II and Rachamalla IV, asserted that he belonged to the sacred brahmakshatriya vaṁśa (Kulkarni 1975, 4). His eulogy,

inscribed on the Tyagada Brahmadeva pillar at Shravanabelgola (Channarayapatna taluk, Hassan district), praises him as "a sun in the shape of a jewel adorning the crest of the Eastern mountain, the *brahmakṣatra* race; a moon in the shape of the splendour of his fame causing to swell the ocean, the *brahmakṣatra* race; the central gem to the pearl necklace of Lakshmi, procured from the Rohana mountain, the *brahmakṣatra* race; a strong wind to the fire, the *brahmakṣatra* race" (Gopal et al. 1973, 2: SB 388). Apart from the assertion that Chavundaraya belonged to the brahmakshatriya race, neither source specifies his ancestry. However, a fragmentary inscription from Algodu (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century provides the genealogy of one Chavunda, who was the grandson of a Vipra named Govindamayya, who is praised for his knowledge of dharma *(dharmajña)* and the son of Mabalayya, a subordinate of Nōḷambakulāntaka (Marasimha II) (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 312). Mabalayya and his brother, Isarayya, are lauded for their prowess. Would this indicate the appropriation of kshatriya attributes by this brahmana family? An inscription from Arani (Nagamangala taluk, Mandya district) mentions one Mabalayya as the minister *(amātya)* of *Nōḷambakulāntakadēva Permānāḍi* (Marasimha II) (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ng 99). Gopal et al. are inclined to identify him with the father of the Chavunda mentioned in the Algodu epigraph, who in turn was probably the same Chavundaraya as the author of the *Mahāpurāṇam* (Gopal et al. 1979, xc–xci). However, neither the Arani nor the Algodu inscriptions refer to the brahmakshatriya status of the protagonists, which figures so prominently in the Shravanabelgola eulogy, although the Algodu epigraph clearly brings out the brahmana status of the founder of this family. It is possible that their political position under Marasimha II led to the gradual adoption of kshatriya traits, and this in turn may have induced Chavundaraya to settle for brahmakshatriya status.

Several records from the Sorab taluk of Shimoga district mention scions of the brahmakshatriya Matura vaṃśa (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 60–63, 70, 447, 474, 476, 479). They are described as Trikundapuravarēśvara, as possessing the Nandanavana parasol *(chatra)*, the seal *(haya lāñchana)* and the banner *(darpaṇa dhvaja)* (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 70). This lineage had thus adopted all the royal insignias, while conspicuously abstaining from all references

to brahmana ancestry or gōtra affiliation. Nandi has suggested that the Matura vaṃśis were possibly a group of tribal sorcerers who had settled down as a village community (Nandi 1987, 113ff). Such shamanistic origins might have inclined them to opt for brahmakshatriya status when they rose to power (Jaiswal 1979–80, 29).

There is a reference in the Nolamba dominions to a minister (amātya) of Prince Polalchora, Chavundayya of Vatsa gōtra, in an inscription from Kadambur (Kalyandurg taluk, Anantapur district) dated AD 965 (Shama Sastri and Rao 1939, vol. 9 pt. 1: no. 30). He does not appear to have opted for brahmakshatriya status. However, as the case of Chavundaraya's family shows, the assumption of such a status could be a gradual process. This is also brought out by the family of brahmana feudatories mentioned in Ranna's *Ajita Tirthakara Purāṇam*. The progenitor of this family was Nagamayya of Punganur in Kemme dēsa of Vengi maṇḍala, who belonged to the Kaundinya kula (Sannayya and Gowda 1988, I.24). His two sons, Mallapa and Ponnamayya, are described as *kauṇḍinya kula pradīpa* and Mallapa in particular is praised as being well-versed in both weapons *(śastra)* and sacred and secular texts and authorities *(śāstra)* (Sannayya and Gowda 1988, I.28, 31). Mallapa's courage is also fulsomely praised. He is described as the cause of his lord, Ahavamalla (Tailapa II) Chalukya's rising prosperity (Sannayya and Gowda 1988, I.37). Interestingly, his daughters, Attimabbe and Gundamabbe were both married to Nagadeva, son of Dallapa, the "excellent counsellor" *(sacivottama)* of Emperor Ahavamalla, holding the rank of *Mahāmantri*. Nagadeva is said to have belonged to the Uttama *jāti* though his gōtra is not specified, and he is praised for his valour only, unlike his father-in-law (Sannayya and Gowda 1988, I.38 vacana). By dint of his prowess and faithful service in the battles of Karahata and Kumara, he gained successively the ranks of *Camūpati* and Senāḍhipati (Sannayya and Gowda 1988, I.42, 45). If Nagadeva was not in fact a brahmana, this would represent an interesting case of a marriage between higher-caste women and a lower-caste man *(pratilōma)*. It would also mean that his political and social position as the son of an important feudatory of the emperor was considered sufficient reason for Mallapa to overlook his caste. It is more than likely, however, that he was a brahmana and his political functions, rather than his caste

affiliation, were given greater importance. Such a stituation would indicate a temporary station en route to a brahmakshatriya claim. The inscriptions cited above clearly reveal that brahmanas had come to possess large landed estates, which made them a significant section of the aristocracy. Many of them, such as Shivaryya, Mabalayya, Chavundaraya and Mallapa, played an active role in the administration and politics of the day.

Apart from these high-ranking feudatories, there are references to several brahmanas who held the position of ūr-Oḍeya. In the context of Tamil Nadu, Y. Subbarayalu associates the title of ūr-Oḍeya with non-brahmana landholders belonging to the particular village named in conjunction with the prefix oḍeya (Subbarayalu 1982, 279). In other words, such a person was the possessor either of the entire village mentioned or of a portion of the land within it. The evidence from southern Karnataka indicates that ūr-oḍeyas were often brahmanas. The eighth-century Saraguru copper-plates (Heggadedevanakote taluk, Mysore district), for instance, refer to the Oḍeya of Kesugola, who received Dhannagavadi as a brahmadēya grant from Shripurusha Ganga (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 90). The very fact that the grant was termed a brahmadēya would imply that the donee was a brahmana. Similarly, the Ganjam copper-plates (Srirangapatna taluk, Mandya district) of Yuvarāja Marasimha record the grant of Tipperur as brahmadēya to Ponnadi, the Oḍeya of Arppola, who belonged to the Kaushika gōtra (Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Sr 66). The brahmana identity of this oḍeya could not have been clearer. The Medutambihalli inscription (Kolar taluk, Kolar district) of Shivamara I Ganga records the grant of some land as brahmadēya by Shivamaramma, the Oḍeya of Puttur to Dunduger, the Nallattur Oḍeya (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 231). While Shivamaramma's caste identity is indeterminable, the Nallattur Oḍeya was apparently a brahmana. The Tagarti agrahara inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 1027 mentions the ūr-Oḍeya of Tagarache, Arasimayya, whose son Pērbārva Madhavayya constructed a temple and received a dēva dāna grant (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 53). Pērbārva has been explained by Ramesh as the Kannada equivalent of Mahājana or *Mahābrāhmaṇa* (*pēr*–big, *pārva*–brahmana) (Ramesh 1984, 108). Thus, Arasimayya was also a brahmana.

In many cases, however, the caste identity of ūr-oḍeyas cannot be so easily discerned. In the case of the Shivarapattana inscription (Kolar taluk, Kolar district) of the eighth century, which records that there was no debt outstanding between the Oḍeya of Kudalur-padi and Eramaga, the caste affiliation of both protagonists cannot be determined (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 7). Likewise, the Devalapura inscription (Mysore taluk, Mysore district) of Shripurusha Ganga mentions Gottemadi Oḍeya as the donor of Nokki-ur, a rent-free holding (vṛtti) of Kudalur and of a retainer's field (pērāḷvina kēy) to Arattiga Taḷāṛa (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 192).[13] In this inscription, Gottemadi Oḍeya is clearly a landholder of considerable importance, but it is not possible to detect his caste identity.

Religious Preceptors and Temple Trustees

Another category of the *religieux* who received grants of land was of the sectarian preceptors and representatives of monastic orders who were entrusted with the dēva dāna grants. As the Manne plates (Nelamangala taluk, Bangalore district) of Rachamalla I Ganga show, such trustees could be brahmanas. (Settar 1976–77, 32–34 no. 4). In general, however, the caste affiliation of sectarian leaders is not specified; their asceticism is stressed instead. This is not to say that they were non-brahmanas; in fact, there are no references to sectarian preceptors of non-brahmana extraction. What emerges from the records is that the caste affiliation of these individuals was not as important for their identity as the membership of a sect. Some of these monks and sectarian preceptors exercised lordship over villages and religious centres (sthāna). Such leaders performed administrative functions analogous to those more usually undertaken by lay chieftains and kings. Thus, the Ramapura inscription (Srirangapatna taluk, Mandya district) of the thirty-fourth regnal year of Satyavakya (Rachamalla II [?]) Permānaḍi (AD 904–05 [?]) refers to one

[13] The importance of the position of the Taḷāṛa is borne out by the early tenth-century work, the *Vaḍḍārādhanē* in the stories of Sukumara Svami and Vidyuccora (Narasimhachar 1986, 57–58, 167).

Matisagara Pandita Bhatara, who is described as the "abode of all learning and wealth *[vidyā lakshmī pradhāna nivāsa]*, possessing the multitude of prostrating feudatories *[prabhava praṇīta sakala sāmanta samūha]* and lord of Belgola which is attached to the Kalbappu Hill *[kaḷbappu giri sanātha bēḷgōḷādhipati]*" (Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Sr 85). At his instance, in the presence of Annayya Devakomara and Dora, a grant was made to Kesiga for the construction of a tank at Taleneri. Thus, Matisagara Pandita Bhatara was the lord of Shravanabelgola and evidently enjoyed the revenues of the villages donated for its upkeep. It would seem that he could dispose of the village revenues, at least, at will. He is even depicted as a conventional overlord, receiving the obeisance of feudatories. The Kyatanahalli inscription (Pandavapura taluk, Mandya district) also mentions a Kaḷbappu tīrtha sanātha and Bēlgōḷanivāsi (Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Ppu 16). The name of this lord of Kalbappu is lost since the record is broken; however, he is said to belong to the Sravana association (saṅgha) and is probably identical with Komarasena Bhattaraka, who received the grant of a sollage of white rice, clarified butter and free labour (biṭṭi) given to the Kella basadi built by Chagi Permānaḍi. The grant was made jointly by Rachamalla II and his nephew Ereyanga, and is probably only a little later than the Ramapura record cited above.

The Mallisettipura hero-stone (Sidlaghatta taluk, Kolar district) from the beginning of the ninth century refers to Brahmashiva Bhatara, who was ruling over Pasugur while Shri Nolamba was ruling the kingdom (arasugeyye) (Rice 1905, 10: Sd 59). The Hebbata inscription (Shrinivaspur taluk, Kolar district) states that a preceptor, Brahmashivacharya, made a grant of one koḷaga of rice land *(okkuḷa kaḷani)* to the hero Bidiyeta, who repulsed an invasion on Perbatta (Rice 1905, 10: Sp 27). Another inscription from Hebbata mentions the Acarya's sthāna. Clearly, Hebbata was the centre of a line of Shaivite preceptors. Someone from the Ācārya's establishment seems to have died in a skirmish and a grant was made for him (Rice 1905, 10: Sp 28).

The most interesting inscriptions in this regard come from the Avani division of Mulbagal taluk (Kolar district). These refer to the rule of Tribhuvana Karttara Bhatara over the sthāna of Avani in the mid tenth century. A rock inscription from Avani itself states that Tribhuvana Karttara Bhatara obtained *rudra lōka* after having ruled for forty years over the sthāna of Avani,

constructed fifty temples *(ayvattu dēgulamam māḍi)* and two large tanks *(piriyaveraḍu keṛeyam kaṭṭisi)* (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 65). Two inscriptions from Balla and Shringeri Sadumanahalli in the Avani division refer to this priest's rule over a sthāna, apparently a reference to Avani (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 93, 94; Shama Sastri 1927, 90ff). As Shama Sastri, the editor of the *Archaeological Survey of Mysore Annual Report* says, it is evident that Tribhuvana Karttara Bhatara was a powerful priest entrusted with the management of the temples in the district of Avanya or in Avani itself (Shama Sastri 1927, 90). The third hero-stone at Shringeri Sadumanahalli, however, clearly indicates that Tribhuvana Karttara Bhatara's jurisdiction extended beyond the management of temples. This epigraph records the death of a hero in a destruction of a village (ūr aḷivu) and the grant of five koḷagas of wet land by Deva (Shama Sastri 1927, 92 no. 101). Deva clearly refers to this priest, since the hero-stone mentions the rule of Pattanadeva over Avanya. According to the editor, Pattanadeva was an orthographical error for Panditadeva, the title of Tribhuvana Karttara Bhatara. Similarly, a hero-stone from Balla village records a grant in appreciation of the valour of Dammeya, son of Basalvera, in defence of cattle by the Bhatara (clearly Tribhuvana Karttara) who is said to have been ruling the sthāna (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 93). Obviously, this Shaiva preceptor ruled over Avani and its neighbouring villages, performing functions that a lay administrator would in similar circumstances. Surprisingly, however, two records in the Shatrughneshvara temple at Avani, datable on palaeographic grounds to the mid tenth century, do not mention him, merely recording the grant or remission of certain taxes to the temple of Mahadeva by Dilipayya Nolamba (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 51, 52).

An inscription from Mogenahalli (Channapatna taluk, Bangalore district), datable to the close of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth century, mentions Muvadi Chillukadeva, the ruler (āḷdana) of the temples of Shivamareshvara, Nitimargeshvara and Jagdhara Naghareshvara. The record registers the grant of the bittuvaṭṭa of the big and small tanks within these temples' limits by the āḷdana (Rice 1905, 9: Cp 48). The precise location of these temples is not clear, although the inscription states that they were situated within a fort. Muvadi Chillukadeva was apparently a Shaivite preceptor and, like Matisagara Pandita Bhatara and Tribhuvana Karttara Bhatara, is seen performing

purely secular administrative functions. His influence, in contrast to Tribhuvana Karttara Bhatara, does not seem to extend beyond the temples.

Thus, the virtual monopoly held by the brahmanas over eleemosynary grants in the first phase was eroded in the second phase. Although Vaidika brahmanas continued to be recipients of land grants in the second phase (and the instances cited above are far from exhaustive), monastic orders and sectarian preceptors vied with them for royal and chiefly patronage. Such preceptors were probably brahmanas, but they derived their influence from their leadership of the monastic order or sect rather than by virtue of their caste. They emerged as a significant section of the landed magnates and exercised considerable political and adminstrative power. In fact, the influence wielded by these sectarian leaders appears to be far greater than that of the brahmana beneficiaries and feudatories. While Mabalayya could only claim that he was charged with the full responsibility of the kingdom as the prime minister *(samasta rājya bhara nirūpita mahāmātya pada sampannam)* (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ng 99), Matisagara Pandita could claim that he was sovereign over a host of feudatories (1977, 6: Sr 85), and Tribhuvana Karttara Bhatara was said to be ruling over the kingdom of the sacred (tapas), analogous in position to the king Dilipayya Nolamba, who was ruling the kingdom of earth (Shama Sastri 1927, 90 no. 96). An interesting inscription from Gonimorabagal (Madakasira taluk, Anantapur district) of AD 936 shows that sectarian preceptors were viewed both as conventional feudatories and as sovereigns in their capacity as representatives of the sacred realm. Thus, Varunashiva Bhatara, the ruler of the sthāna of Nolambeshvara, is given the titles of Mahāsāmantādhipati and *Paramēshvara Paramabhaṭṭaraka* (Shama Sastri and Rao 1939, vol. 9 pt. 1 , no. 24, ll. 21–24), indicating the two roles and the two worlds that they inhabited.

This trend was clearly connected with the rise in the popularity of the cults of Vishnu, Shiva and the Jaina Tirthankaras. Rulers attempted to harness both the older brahmanical religion and its representatives as well as the new bhakti cults and its leaders for the validation of their power (Chattopadhyaya 1983, 34). Since such leaders received generous grants of land for the support of temples of which they were trustees and managers, they gained great political power and became landed aristocrats.

The Women Elite

There are a very few references to women in the records of the first phase. These generally occur in terms of their relationship to the reigning king, and their names are seldom mentioned. This changes in the second phase, however, when women are occasionally referred to as the rulers of specific units or settlements. As seen earlier, the Gangas and Nolambas distributed territory not only among their sons but also among their queens. There are other instance of women rulers as well: an inscription from Kuntur (Kollegal taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century mentions one Parabbaya-arasi of Kundattur as the ruler of that place (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ko 10), who was evidently of local extraction.

The emergence of women into the limelight may perhaps be traced to the revival of matrilineal elements in society during the second phase. With growing acculturation and the spread of literacy, the emergent tribal elite began to appropriate royal symbols and modes of political control. It was perhaps under the influence of these new groups of ruling classes that women came to the forefront as rulers and administrators. Traces of matriliny are visible even today among the lower castes and tribes of this region (Iyer 1935, 1: 185–86). Among the Kurubas, Bedas and Vaddas, it is the daughter's children that inherit family property in the absence of sons. This is done after the dedication of the daughter to a deity as a *bāsavi*. The affiliation of the son-in-law is also widely prevalent among the Holeyas, Bedas, Vaddas, Gangadikara Vokkaligas, Morasu Vokkaligas, Gollas and a section of the Ganigas; they inherit a share of their father-in-law's property along with their brothers-in-law (Rao 1927, 1: 181–82).

The instance of inheritance by daughters is perhaps best illustrated by the Bandalike inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 919–20, in which the post of nāḷgāvuṇḍu, bestowed on Gāvuṇḍi Jakiyabbe as a reward for her husband's gallantry, passed on to her daughter after Jakiyabbe adopted Jaina vows of ritual death (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 219). It is not clear whether the succession of the daughter was in the absence of a male heir and whether the daughter had been dedicated as a bāsavi. Such a dedication would have been unlikely, however, since the practice is usually restricted to the lowest castes, and the Vokkaligas

are the dominant landholding group in the region; the fact that the Vokkaligas even today bequeath a share of their property to sons-in-law would indicate that the succession of daughters was in all probability a common practice even in the early medieval period.

The affiliation of the sons-in-law is attested in several other records as well. The Yelaburige inscription (Bagepalli taluk, Kolar district) of Mayindama-arasa records the death of the brother-in-law (bhāva—wife's brother) of Jettaya Gāvuṇḍa of Maragal in a raid on that place (Seshadri 1965, 17: Bg 94). Similarly, the Asandi inscription (Kadur Taluk, Chikmagalur district) of Marasimha II refers to Naraga's death together with his son-in-law (aḷiya) and children (Rice 1901, 6: Kd 147). An inscription from Shravanabelgola (Channarayapatna taluk, Hassan district) indicates that the position of prime minister (mahāmātya) in the Ganga kingdom under Ereyanga II was inherited by the son-in-law of the previous incumbent (Gopal et al. 1973, 2: SB 186).

Thus, the practices of the modern matrilineal castes and tribes are discernable even in the early medieval period. The increased visibility of women in epigraphs could thus attest to the resurgence of matrilineal elements in a society in which the patriarchal, dharmashastric norms had been very pervasive in the previous phase.

Chapter IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITY

It has been seen that the Gangas, perhaps in origin a chiefly clan of southern Karnataka, established a principality around Kolar in the mid fourth century in some measure due to the influence of the neighbouring state of the Cutukulananda Satakarnis and their successors, the Kadambas, the early Pallavas, etc. They were apparently aided in their project of state formation and political control by brahmanas, whom they patronised on a large scale until the mid eighth century. Brahmanas had a salient presence in the Ganga royal court, acting as secretaries (Ramesh 1984, 1–3 no. 1, 4–6 no. 2, 19–22 no. 6, 30–33 no. 9), royal councillors (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Hn 10) and witnesses to royal charters in their capacity as landlords [?] (mahāmanuṣya) of subordinate districts (Ramesh 1984, 89–93 no. 23, 99–103 no. 25).

Brahmanas had access to religious, politico-administrative and even scientific and technical texts, which enabled them to contribute to the establishment of a new state and economic structure in many ways. Their contribution to the spread of agriculture by the introduction of new techniques and the formulation of a calendar is well recognised (Sharma 1980, 34), as is their role in legitimising the newly emergent tribal elite by fabricating genealogies and performing ceremonies such as the hiraṇyagarbha and the aśvamēdha (Veluthat 1989, 17–18; Kosambi 1988, 343–44). Knowledge of the *Nīti* and *Arthaśāstra* texts made them effective political and military advisors—a role highlighted by the Keregalur plates (Hassan taluk, Hassan district) of Madhavavarman II (Talakad branch) (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Hn 10). The drafting of charters, king lists and administrative documents was also their preserve.[1]

[1] However, other groups, such as feudatories of a lower caste status (Ramesh 1984, 15–18 no. 5, 23–26 no. 7) and goldsmiths (1984, 27–29 no. 8, 40–43 no. 12) were soon involved in this, indicating a spread of literacy.

In Scotland in the same period, reading and writing was introduced by the Church and subsequently manipulated to help establish its own position in the region's traditional, pagan society. In doing so the Church extended an awareness of the potential of literacy to the secular authorities of the kingdom, who thus began to use documents to authorise their own claims to power (Nieke 1988, 236–52). In the context of southern Karnataka, brahmanas and the Jainas, who enjoyed some royal patronage in the first phase, do not appear to have derived an autonomy comparable to that of the Christian Church in early historic Scotland. Moreover, whereas, the Church wielded considerable influence in matters secular, such as disputes resolution, affairs of the family, matrimony and inheritance, the brahmanas seemed to be in a subaltern position to the secular authorities, at least to start with, placing their expertise at the disposal of the king and in return receiving grants that made them autonomous lords of villages and even districts. Land grants were made with blanket exemptions, signified by terms such as sarva bādhā parihāra and dvātriṁśat parihāra – which probably included the right to bar the entry of royal agents, exemption from forced labour, sundry exactions of the state such as *kara* and *paṅgōtkōṭa*, the obligation to shelter officials, etc. – which are enumerated in the various Kadamba copper-plates of the same period. The state, in effect, transferred to the donees control over the land from which they could extract the surplus without let or hindrance from royal agents. The peasant producers of the donated villages appear to have been placed under the donees' subordination. If *samsiddhikam*, mentioned in the Malavalli pillar inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) as a grant privilege meant the right of settling disputes like the later term abhyantara siddhi, (Sharma, personal communication) then it would mean that the donees were also vested with judicial rights.

Land grants of the first phase thus created entire villages and large tracts of land as feudal estates within which direct producers were placed at the mercy of the donee, who could then extract rent from them for the privilege of tenancy and cultivation.[2] While

[2] Barry Hindess and Paul Q. Hirst suggest that feudal landed property implied title to land as a right of exclusion, which is the basis of feudal rent (Hindess and Hirst 1975, 234–35).

specific evidence is not forthcoming for the first phase to bear out this contention of a rent for the right of cultivation, second-phase records are concordant in this regard, as shall be seen below.

Stein posited a brahmana–peasant alliance to explain the system of land grants for brahmanas in the context of Tamil Nadu under Pallava rule. In his opinion, it was not the Pallavas who gave up rights over taxes and land but the dominant peasantry, which patronised the brahmanas with the view to strengthening its own position in the caste-divided peasant society. The need to provide ideological coherence to the peasant order in the face of threats to it from the non-peasant order, as had occurred during the Kalabhra interregnum, was another motive for the dominant peasantry to patronise the brahmanas (Stein 1980, 84–85). This was Stein's reasoning for the otherwise inexplicable conundrum as to why the Pallavas would abdicate control over resources to the brahmanas (Stein 1980, 82). By this yardstick, however, it is equally hard to understand why the peasants would gift their own lands to the brahmanas, particularly when they would have to endure the constant presence of the donees and their efforts to collect various dues, which in the long run strained brahmana–peasant relations (Sharma 1989–90, 86).

Stein also attributed the absence of a viable kshatriya caste in the south to the brahmana–peasant alliance, which obviated the necessity of brahmanas to collaborate with warriors. However, as has been seen in the discussion of the gāvuṇḍas, the peasant landholding elite also discharged administrative and military functions and cannot be considered antipodal to the warrior category (Jaiswal 1979–80, 34–36). The lack of a kshatriya caste in the south is more correctly attributed to the fact that the caste system here developed in the period when the category of sudra included all those engaged in agriculture, including independent peasants and artisans. The term vaishya now connoted principally a trader. Thus, the dominant peasant castes of the south, such as the veḷḷālas of Tamil Nadu, the gāvuṇḍas in Karnataka and the reddis and kammas in Andhra Pradesh, were assigned sudra status.[3]

[3] Jaiswal 1979–80, 37. The Bedirur grant characterises a gāvuṇḍa as sat shūdra (Ramesh 1984, 111–18 no. 29) Similarly, a Virashaiva of the eleventh century states in a vacana that agriculture *(kṛṣi)* was the sudra's occupation (cited in Ja Ca Ni 1976, 29–32).

Only some local ruling lineages attempted to better their caste standing by claiming descent from well-known kshatriya vaṁśas under the influence of caste ideology.[4] However, this was the trend in the second phase; in the first phase, the royal dynasties preferred to affiliate themselves with brahmanical gōtras.

Stein is factually wrong on another count as well. Up to the eighth century, brahmadēya grants were made personally by the kings. The subordinate chiefs' role in this was confined to either its execution or to requesting the kings for such grants (vijñapti). For the kings, such grants allowed for the acculturation of the periphery and the legitimisation of their rule. This is brought out by Karashima also, who opines that brahmadēyas were strategically placed to ensure the loyalty of, and exert influence on, non-brahmana villages (Karashima 1984d, 37). Hall hypothesised from this suggestion of Karashima's that brahmadēyas, which came into existence as manifestations of the king's authority, could decline with the succession of a new king, who could build up his own following among the brahmanas (Hall 1981, 404). An instance of this is provided by Madhavavarman II Ganga of the Talakad branch, who revoked grants by his cousins of the Kaivara branch in favour of his own nominee (Ramesh 1984, 483–86 no. 156, 487–89 no. 157).

The pre-eighth-century political and administrative structure does not appear to have been very complex. There is evidence of division of territory into units designated as viṣaya and bhōga. These units were held by military commanders (Ramesh 1984, 15–18 no. 5) and loyal brahmanas (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Hn 10). There are a few references to subordinates who bore the title of Arasa from the sixth century onwards (Ramesh 1984, 89–93 no. 23, 106–108 no. 27); these individuals were possibly local rulers of tribal origins who were subordinated by military or other political means. They evidently held the territories in their own right, merely paying tribute to the regional overlords.

The Bedirur grant (Shrinivaspur taluk, Kolar district) of Bhuvikrama Ganga indicates that by the seventh century, officials and governors were granted land and revenue in remuneration

[4] For example the Banas, who claimed descent from Bali, or the Kusa-Taryallas, who claimed descent from Rama.

for their services. This charter registers the grant of Bedirur village in Hodali viṣaya to Kōḷāḷaviṣayādhipati Vikramaditya Gāvuṇḍa (Ramesh 1984, 111–18 no. 29). The point is further reinforced by the Hallegere plates (Mandya taluk, Mandya district) of Shivamara I Ganga, which mention the voygas of Oramkal and Simpal, who were jointly ruling over Tuppur (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Md 35, ll. 34–35). Voyga, in the opinion of Ramesh, was the Kannada variant of bhukti, and signified the enjoyment of revenues or land (Ramesh 1984, 139).

Thus, at the end of the first phase the Gangas had emerged as overlords in an incipient feudal structure with the brahmanas, indigenous chiefs and officials enjoying land and its revenue autonomously. The second phase saw the crystallisation of this structure, with a vast array of landed intermediaries between the king and the cultivator. In the eighth century, the Gangas controlled their dominions through a peripatetic system indicated by the frequent references to vijaya skandhāvāras (Ramesh 1984, 155–61 no. 42, 162–67 no. 43, 169–73 no. 45, etc.), as well as the distribution of territory among members of the lineage and transfer of subordinates from one division to another.[5] These methods of control appear to have been abandoned in the ninth and tenth centuries, when the Gangas appear to have exercised administrative control only over their lineage domains in the Western division. Rival dynasties of the Nolambas, Banas and the Chalukyas held vast tracts in the Eastern division and even the Western division, without acknowledging the suzerainty of the Gangas. The patrimonial estates of the Gangas underwent further diminution of size when service assignments were made to warriors and vassals who loyally served them. Service assignments were often made on terms and conditions similar to those granted to brahmanas and temples, i.e., sarva mānya, sarva parihāra, sarva bādhā parihāra, abhyantara siddhi, etc.

The nature of the state presided over by the Gangas is analysed below by specifically studying the land tenures held by various land-owning groups, the exactions laid on the peasantry and the

[5] This was a trend attested to in later times and other regions as well (Jha 1994–95, 46).

artisans and the relations between the vassals and the overlords on a theoretical plane as held by the ideologues of the period.

Land Tenures

Mānya signified tax-free land (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Mānya, Mannēya*), and was frequently used to denote an estate. The earliest reference to mānya comes from the Narasimharajapura plates (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district [?]) of Shivamara II Ganga from the early ninth century, which record the grant of karimāniya (black-soil field) as mānya to the chaityālaya at Tolla by Vittaarasa, who was exercising the lordship (eṛettana) over Sinda nāḍu-8,000 and Tagare nāḍu-70 (Ramesh 1984, 274–75 no. 85). Other references come from the end of the tenth and the early eleventh centuries. The Kempanapura inscription (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of AD 991 registers the grant by Poleyya of Kellur of two khaṇḍugas of land at Kiri-Herur and a garden and ten khaṇḍugas of land within his own mānya in Nelligunda at Poginur to Somarasi Bhatara (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 145). Here, mānya seems to signify an estate. It is noteworthy that Poleyya does not seek the consent of any superior authority for the grant; he was apparently at liberty to dispose of any part of his landed estate as he chose. Similarly, the Talagunda inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) records the grant of Nariyalige-70 as a rent-free holding (mannēya) by Pergaḍe Kalimayya to Kayimma (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 179), while the Tagarti inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 1027 registers the grant of Kudigere mannēya in Koda nāḍu-30 as abhyantara siddhi to the deity Narayanaswami of the temple constructed by Pērbārva Madhavayya, the son of Arasimayya the Ūr-oḍeya of Tagarache (1902, 7: Sk 53). In both these cases mannēya denoted an estate. Moreover, all these donations were cases of sub-infeudation, wherein grants of land were made to secular or religious donees by feudal lords without any reference to the overlord. In one case an entire unit of seventy villages was so bestowed.

Bīḷāvṛtti is another term which apparently connoted an inalienable permanent land tenure. It is mentioned in the Karbail inscription (Nagamangala taluk, Mandya district) of the ninth century (Ramesh 1984, 312–13 no. 99). This hero-stone records

that Arambhallava was ruling Idule in perpetuity *(bīḷāvṛtti āḷuttire)*. Ramesh interprets *bīḷā* as permanent, being the converse of *bīḷ*, to quit, while vṛtti meant land granted for the donee's enjoyment (Ramesh 1984, 313). Arambhallava was apparently the local lord, who held Idule permanently. Under his auspices, a kalnād grant was made for a hero who fell in defence of Gangavadi during the Rashtrakuta invasion.

Sarva parihāra and sarva bādhā parihāra signify land granted with all exemptions and free from all troubles (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Sarva-parihāra, Sarva-bādhā-parihāra*). It has been seen that early Ganga charters used these blanket phrases without any further amplification of their import; this trend continued in the second phase as well. The Baradur grant charter (Krishnarajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of AD 725 registers the donation of Baradur grāma to a brahmana as sarva parihāra (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: Kn 48). No details are given to explain what it denoted. Similarly, the eighth-century Devarahalli inscription (Gundlupet taluk, Mysore district) registers the grant of land where paddy (nellu) and *pāṇḍi* [?] could be grown as well as garden land (toṭṭa) to the Seventy of Upagola as sarva parihāra (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Gu 207). However, the Agara inscription (Yelandur taluk, Mysore district) of the same period indicates that the term sarva parihāra could be used even when the exemptions related to specific dues only (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Yl 138). The Tayalur inscription (Maddur taluk, Mandya district) of AD 907 suggests that sarva parihāra grants were not in fact fully exempt from taxation. It registers the grant of thirty-five khaṇḍugas of land, out of which five were for personal consumption, while pattondi tax had to be paid for the remaining thirty khaṇḍugas. In addition, the payment of fifteen copper coins *(lōha dramma)* annually and twelve measures (koḷa) of pepper *(miki* [?]*)* and one measure (kuḷa) of clarified butter has been stipulated (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Mu 56). At all events, it is clear that even lands granted as sarva parihāra could not escape taxation entirely. It is possible that this held good in cases where the donors were gāvuṇḍas or local bodies. This is suggested by the Tuppad-Kurhatti inscription (Navalgund taluk, Dharwad district) of AD 945 from the reign of Krishna III Rashtrakuta. It records that Butuga II Ganga was ruling over Puligere-300 and Belvola-300, while his feudatory (pāda padmōpajīvi) Aycayya, was ruling over Karana-Guripatti with

abhyantara siddhi. Aycayya constructed a temple for which Nāḷgāvuṇḍa Tondayya and the Six Gāvuṇḍas granted a fifty mattar field, one mattar for a garden and twenty-four houses on Devamgeri. However, it is stipulated that two gold coins *(poṅ gadyāṇa)* had to be paid to the king as a land tax *(siddhāya)* and another two to the Nāḷgāvuṇḍa as his share of the tax. All other taxes had been remitted *(pēṟadondunteṟeyilla)* (Barnett 1917–18, 364ff). While the term sarva parihāra is not used, it would seem that the local body was empowered only to remit local dues, although it is noteworthy that the Nāḷgāvuṇḍa was not willing to forego his own share of the land tax.

There is no evidence that the grants made with the condition of sarva bādhā parihāra, meaning free from all troubles, carried a tax liability to a superior authority. Thus, the Kyatanahalli inscription (Pandavapura taluk, Mandya district) from the end of the ninth century records a sarva bādhā parihāra grant for the Kella basadi constructed by Chagi Permānaḍi (Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Ppu 16). There is no hint of a tax liability. Another grant of the same period is recorded in the Hire-Basur hero-stone (Kadur taluk, Chikmagalur district), which registers the gift of Basanur to Marasimha Gāvuṇḍa, who died in the battle against the Nolamba of Asandi nāḍu (Rice 1901, 6: Kd 141). Two tenth-century inscriptions from Varuna (Mysore taluk, Mysore district) register that sarva bādhā parihāra grants for the Buteshvara temple, which were entrusted to Nanni Karttara Bhatara (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 168, 169). In all these cases the donors were the local lord and the donees were apparently endowed with complete control over the gifted land without any tax liability to a superior. However, an inscription from Gollapuram (Hindupur taluk, Anantapur district) of the tenth century somewhat modifies the picture derived from records in southern Karnataka by suggesting that even sarva bādhā parihāra grants carried some burden of taxes. This epigraph from the neighbouring state of Andhra Pradesh registers the grant of Piriya Melapi to Balasoma Bhatara. It specifically states that land tax (siddhāya) due to the king was excluded from the purview of sarva bādhā parihāra *(kotta sthiti entendade siddhāya bittu sarva bādhā parihāramaṁ biṭṭar)* (Shama Sastri and Rao 1939, vol. 9 pt. 1, no. 32, ll. 9–12).

Taḷavṛtti is another land tenure mentioned in the inscriptions. The *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* explains this as land granted for the maintenance of a temple or a deity at the time of consecration (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Taḷavṛtti*). The inscriptions do not bring out this association with consecration, although taḷavṛttis were clearly meant for the maintenance of temples and the worship conducted within them. Thus, the Hecce inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 939 records grants for the Shrikantheshvara temple by Kaṭakada-gōva Chattayyadeva in the presence of Mahāsāmantādhipati Machiya-arasa, who was ruling the kingdom of Banavasi-12,000. The grants were made for (i) the decoration of the image of the deity *(aṅgabhōga)* (ii) entertainment of the deity *(raṅgabhōga)* (iii) rites performed in the months of Caitra and Sravana *(caitra pavitra)* (iv) food for the ascetics *(tapōdanara āhāradāna)* (v) repairs of the temple structure *(khaṇḍasphuṭita jīrṇōddhāra)* and (vi) daily food offerings to the gods *(naivēdya)*, and included the taḷavṛtti lands to the south of the fort in the Kalladevabeya field (polage) (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 476). There is no indication that the temple was newly constructed or consecrated, although this could very possibly have been the case. Similarly, the Shiralakoppa inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 1019 records several grants of lands, gardens and streets for the temple of Nandikeshvaradeva after its renovation for naivēdya and khaṇḍasphuṭita jīrṇōddhāra as taḷavṛtti (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 125). Thus, renovation was also an occasion for making taḷavṛtti grants. These lands on taḷavṛtti tenure constituted the temple estate over which its management exercised complete control. There is no indication of royal interference once the grant was made nor of a tax liability to the local or royal authorities. The Belugunda inscription (Nagamangala taluk, Mandya district) from the close of the ninth century, however, indicates that in some cases the dēvabhōga lands might have been required to contribute to tank maintenance (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ng 117). The term taḷavṛtti is not employed in this inscription.

Abhyantara siddhi has been explained by Sircar as internal income or revenue payable to the village authorities, as against those payable to the king (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Abhyantara siddhi*). In central Indian inscriptions the term is interpreted to mean the

right to settle internal disputes (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Abhyantara siddhi*; Sharma, personal communication). In southern Karnataka it seems to signify rule over a village, with perhaps judicial powers and the right over internal income. Thus, the Kottapalli inscription (Shrinivaspur taluk, Kolar district) from the early tenth century mentions one Corayya who was ruling Nelavanki abhyantara-siddhi as a subordinate of Vaidumba Mahārāja (Shama Sastri 1928, 45–46 no. 33). Here, abhyanatara-siddhi seems to denote an estate over which Corayya exercised complete control. Similarly, the Kaladevapura inscription (Maddagiri taluk, Tumkur district) from the early tenth century records the grant of Kalliyur as abhyantara siddhi *(kalliyūrana abhyantara siddhiyāge)* to Pergaḍe Benayya as a reward for his valour in the battle of Kottamangala (Rice 1904, 12: Mi 71). Once again, the connotation appears to be that of an estate. The Otur inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) uses abhyantara siddhi in the sense of a right conferred on its holder. It refers to Cittarate Otur being ruled by Pergaḍe Nakiyayya with abhyantara siddhi *(mūligan abhyantara siddhiyāge)* (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 70). While the exact meaning remains unclear, it may include both the right to the internal revenue and to settle disputes. However, the Belaguli hero-stone (Arkalgud taluk, Hassan district) from the early tenth century seems to indicate that abhyanatara siddhi essentially provided immunity from the payment of dues to the ruler. It specifically states that the Nāḍabōva and the Nāl̤gāvuṇḍa were not to enter the granted village since it was constituted as abhyantara siddhi *(nāḍabōva nāl̤gāvuṇḍanu aṭṭadeṟe kiṟudeṟe endivondu pugusalla abhyantara siddhi)* (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Ag 41). Possibly the exclusion of royal agents led to more complete control by the donee over the granted village.

Sircar is of the opinion that lands were declared tax-free only when the individual at whose instance the grant was made compensated the state for loss of revenue (Sircar 1974, 3–4). This was certainly the case with the Cholas (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 227, 230), under whom even the brahmadēyas were not exempt from taxation (Subbarayalu 1982, 293). There does not seem to be any evidence of such compensation for loss of revenue in southern Karnataka, although the Tayalur inscription (Maddur taluk, Mandya district) cited above seems to point to the fact that grants by local bodies were not exempt from taxes payable

to the local ruler, and this is supported by the Tuppad-Kurhatti and Gollapuram epigraphs as well. Likewise, the Belugunda inscription (Nagamangala taluk, Mandya district) cited above suggests that eleemosynary gifts were not always exempt from local dues. By and large, however, grants of land made under the tenures such as mānya, sarva parihāra, sarva bādhā parihāra, bīḷāvṛtti, taḷavṛtti and abhyantara siddhi imply an institutional decentralisation of the taxation system, with the right to collect taxes due to the state vested with the donees for their own consumption.

Landlords were not only given the right to collect taxes but also to control the tenant population under them. This is brought out by the ninth-century Vijayapura inscription (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district), which records that Sauca Manaleyara and Nanni Malalur paid gold to the Twelve of Kirupel-nagara and obtained permission *(samādhi)* of the local rulers, Ranapara and Manaleya-arasa to settle tenants *(okkalge poṇviṭṭu pugisidār)* who had previously entered without permission *(samādhi illāde)* (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 146). The composition of the Twelve is not clear but it possibly consisted of the dominant gāvuṇḍas who appear to have graded rights over the village lands together with Ranapara and Manaleya-arasa. It may also be recollected that the Tuppad-Kurhatti record (Navalgund taluk, Dharwad district) assigns the Nāḷgāvuṇḍa a portion of the land tax (siddhāya) equal to that of the king *(arasara desege siddhāya)* (Barnett 1917–18, 364ff).

The Ramenahalli inscription (Kolar taluk, Kolar district) of the eighth century registers the grant of lands as dēvabhōga for Pulikurikki Bhatara. The lands were then entrusted to Nagomma for cultivation *(ūḷuvudu)* (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 11). There is no information on whether the individual tenant was originally a resident of the land; at any rate the landlord appears to have been vested with the right to assign tenancy at will. If the lords could control the tenant population in their domains in this fashion, clearly they could extract rents from them and eject them at will. Such a situation is suggested by the Marehalli inscription (Malavalli taluk, Mandya district) of AD 1014, which records that Basavayya of Balluru gifted the ten koḷagas of wet land of his first tenant *(modal okkal)* to the deity of Rajasraya Viṇṇagar for a perpetual lamp (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ml 60). It is not altogether

clear whether the tenant was attached to the gifted land or not, although it does appear that the land was taken away from him.

The grant of waste lands (ūrpāḷ) and of pastures further weakened the position of the peasants *vis-à-vis* the landlords, who derived their title from the state.

Exactions

The inscriptions under review refer to a bewildering array of taxes, with most references occuring in the context of sub-infeudation. Early Kadamba and Chalukya records mention taxes such as kara and *antaḥkara* (internal taxes), *paṅga* (contributions from eleemosynary holdings), *utkōṭa* (presents to the king) and *hiraṇya* (cash payments), from which the donees were exempt. Early Ganga inscriptions also mention some specific dues. The Nonamangala copper-plates (Malur taluk, Kolar district), from the close of the fifth century and belonging to the reign of Avinita Ganga, record the grant of the proceeds of tolls *(śulka)* in coins *(kārṣāpaṇas)* levied outside Perur, to the temple of Arhat situated at Uranur (Ramesh 1984, 40–43 no. 12). Śulka, (later suṅka) signified tolls, custom duties or octroi duties. The *Arthaśāstra* explains it as duties levied on goods imported into a city (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Śulka*, *Suṅka*). It is this meaning that applies to the Nonamangala plates which probably refer to the Perur in Kongu dēsa, as it was an important trade centre in the early historic period.[6] Though śulka is not mentioned in the Birur copper-plates (Kadur taluk, Chikmagalur district) of Vishnuvarman Kadamba, the description of Vaijayanti (Banavasi) as adorned with eighteen customs houses (maṇḍapikā) indicates that śulka was levied on incoming goods in this city as well (Rice 1901, Kd 162).

[6] The Perur plates of Simhavarman (Ramesh, 1984, 479–82 no. 155), and possibly the Melekote plates (Ramesh 1984, 37–39 no. 11) also refer to Perur. The first is incontestably located in Coimbatore district, while the second mentions the Manigrama Śrēṇi and several merchants (vāṇija). R. Champakalakshmi mentions the trade route through the Kongu region between Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Karnataka, which resulted in a trail of Jaina centres and Roman coin hoards (Champakalakshmi 1986a, 59).

While Perur and Banavasi were urban survivals from the early historic era, the Agara inscription (Yelandur taluk, Mysore district) of the eighth century appears to relate to an emergent rural market centre. This inscription records a temporary exemption from tolls on headloads *(tale poṟe)* to the Twenty by the Mane-oḍeya of the queen, Vine...ttinimmadi, for the duration of a festival (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Yl 138). The reference to headloads might imply that the tolls were levied at the nearest market centre to which the peasants carried their products for sale. The Twenty was probably the local corporate group that won this concession from the local ruler. It is not quite clear whether it represented the dominant gāvuṇḍas or the tenants (okkal). The area (Yelandur taluk, Mysore district) was evidently included in the Ganga dominions at this time.[7]

A similar inference of a local market centre can also be made in the Chittavalli inscription (Chikmagalur taluk, Chikmagalur district) of AD 1025, which records the grant of the tolls of the village *(ūrsunkavam)*, together with imposts on clarified butter, to the Jiviteshvara temple at Chittavalli (Rice 1901, 6: cm 95). In at least two instances there are local rulers granting proceeds from the toll revenue to religious institutions, while in another the ruler granted a temporary exemption to the local corporate body. Grants of revenue as eleemosynary gifts would indicate the feudalisation of trade and commerce, a feature occurring in other parts of the country as well (Sharma 1980, 102–103).

There are several references to a range of taxes on land. Most of them appear to have been levied by local rulers, and in some cases there is further evidence of the farming out of taxes to subordinates. The eighth-century Kuppepalya inscription (Magadi taluk, Bangalore district) records that Shivamara Ereyanga, the son of Shripurusha Ganga and the ruler of Kunungil nāḍu, extended the right of cultivation *(kārāṇme)* to all the inhabitants of Bisigur *(ūr bāḷva prajegaḷge)* in a mandatory order *(kaṭṭāṇe)* (Ramesh 1984, 249–50 no. 68). *Kārāṇmai* occurs in Tamil inscriptions to mean the right of ploughing, and the tax collected from those holding such a right (Ramesh 1984, 250). It is possible

[7] The Gangas during this period controlled their dominions by parcelling them out among members of the royal family.

that this is the meaning of kārāṇme in this record. If so, it would imply that tenants were bound to pay a rent for the right of cultivation, as suggested earlier. This is also borne out by the fact that a payment had to be made to the local rulers to enable any new tenant to settle legally in a village, as the Vijayapura inscription shows (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 145). At all events, the extension of the right of cultivation would suggest that the local lord was attempting to raise revenue by extending a taxable right. In the period of Chola domination in southern Karnataka, kārāṇmai was the principal tax, as attested by an inscription dated AD 1022–23 from Kolar, which registers the grant of Pasaipal in Kuvalala nāḍu to the goddess Pidariyar at Kuvalala (Kolar) (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 112[a]). The income from the village, comprising of kārāṇmai, *kuṟamai* and *mīyāṭchi*, is computed in cash and kind. The grant of revenue would indicate that even the imperial Cholas resorted to tax-farming.

Siddhāya was another major levy on agriculture in the early medieval period. It was raised by the local ruler within his own dominions and frequently given away to private individuals. Siddhāya has been explained by the *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* as fixed or regular income probably from agriculture (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Siddhāya*). It was a tax charged by the local ruler, and, if the Tuppad-Kurhatti inscription (Navalgund taluk, Dharwad district) reflected current practice, it was not only the ruler but also his subordinates at the nāḍu level who were entitled to its proceeds. The ninth-century Koturu inscription (Virajpet taluk, Coorg district) records the grant of seventy gadyāṇas of gold and a hundred measures of dehusked paddy *(beḷtiya bhatta)* of the siddhāya as a kalnāḍ to a gāvuṇḍa (Gopal et al. 1972, 1: 60 no. 97). The Muttatti inscription (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) from the close of the ninth century records the grant of Muttatti to Nagakumarayya. The grant is specifically stated to consist of five gadyāṇas as siddhāya, one gadyāṇa as *puṭṭigōja* [?], and three *guḷagas* (a land measure [?]) as *vallagoḷaga* [?] and kiṟudeṟe (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 39). The fragmentary nature of the inscription makes it difficult to clearly discern who the donor was, although it is likely to have been the Valabhīpuravarēśvara mentioned in the prelude. Likewise, the Hebbani inscription (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district) of c. AD 1000, from the reign of Rajaraja Chola, registers the grant of the siddhāya of Perbenna, which amounted

to ten gadyāṇas of gold and twenty-six units of paddy, to Kadiyanna of Hebbani for repairing the big tank of Perbenna (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 208). The donor was Nolambādhirāja, who was subordinate to Rajaraja and the local ruler. In both the Koturu and the Hebbani inscriptions, it was merely the siddhāya and not the village as such that was given away; in the Muttatti epigraph, however, it was the village that was the object of the grant, and the siddhāya was to be collected by the donee who was now the landlord. The rate of the siddhāya is not specified in any record.

In contrast, the rates of the two other taxes, pattondi and *aydondi*, meaning one-tenth and one-fifth respectively, are clear. One of the earliest references to pattondi comes from the eighth-century Hemmige inscription (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district), which records its remission for two generations for all inhabitants of Pemoge (probably the same as Hemmige) by Kongani Maraja at the request of the queen (mahādēvi) (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 253). The Hemmige inscription does not indicate whether pattondi was levied on agricultural income only or on merchandise as well. The Vijayapura inscription (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) of Shivamara II Ganga records that pattondi was remitted on land and gold *(ponpula)* in favour of the Twelve of Kirupeli, probably by Pededi of Kolattur who was ruling Kirupel-nagara (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 145). This would suggest that pattondi was levied on all kinds of income, agricultural or otherwise.

Pattondi in some cases also signified the rate of tax on land. Thus, the Rampura inscription (Srirangapatna taluk, Mandya district) of AD 905 specifies the rate of taxes payable by the cultivators of land irrigated by a dam as pattondi in the first year, ēḻaḷavi (one-seventh [?]) in the second and aydaḷavi (one-fifth [?]) in the third year and thereafter (Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Sr 85). These taxes were to be appropriated by Kesiga, who constructed the dam. In most cases however, the usual connotation was of a tax on land. Thus, the Melagani inscription (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district) from the end of the ninth century records the remission of pattondi on the land below the Palakodu tank, probably by Pergaḍe Gauḍa Shri Puli, who was ruling Agali-12 (Shama Sastri 1926, 87–88 no. 100). The Tayalur inscription (Maddur taluk, Mandya district) retains, as seen earlier, the pattondi tax on thirty

khaṇḍugas out of the thirty-five that were granted to Kaccavara Poḷalaśeṭṭi for constructing the tank at Kadarur (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Mu 56). The grant had been made by the gāvuṇḍas and the okkal, who clearly did not have the right to remit pattondi. Exemption from the payment of this tax were made only by feudal lords, who apparently levied it within their own dominions. The aydondi tax was in all probability similar in character. Apart from the Melagani inscription cited above, aydondi is mentioned in the Vijayapura inscription (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) of the ninth century, which registers the gift of twenty-five khaṇḍugas of land (biḷmaṇṇu) without the payment of aydondi to the brahmanas. The donor was Arasanna (the king's elder brother [?]) (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 145). This was clearly a brahmadēya grant by the local ruler.

Maṇṇadeṟe, literally land tax, is mentioned in the eighth-century Basavatti inscription (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 126). The proceeds of the tax together with the tax on shepherds (kuṟimbadeṟe) were donated to the Kuṟimba Gāvuṇḍa (the chief of the shepherds [?]). This inscription not only brings out the process of sub-infeudation but also the seemingly permanent nature of the settlement of the shepherd community and the growth of social stratification within it; the Gāvuṇḍa would thus seem to have been absorbed into the medieval polity with a higher status than the others, and his revenue derived from taxes paid by the community.

The Mankunda inscription (Channapatna taluk, Bangalore district) of AD 913 indicates that the corporate bodies of villages could be vested with the rights of tax collection over another settlement (Rice 1905, 9: Cp 161). It records the grant of the proceeds of the *karudeṟe* and *aḍḍadeṟe* of Mankunda by Kudalur and Bhodariyur to an unknown donee. (It is possible that these two taxes were the same as aṭṭadeṟe and kiṟudeṟe mentioned in the Belgali inscription (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Ag 41). Kuṟudeṟe as well as kaṟudeṟe may have been orthographic errors for kiṟudeṟe or minor tax, which is further discussed below.) This is reminiscent of the grant (Betamangala inscription [Bowringpet taluk, Kolar district]) of the bittuvaṭṭa of Vijayadityamangala, together with two other neighbouring villages, to the Mahājanas of Kayvara to ensure the maintenance of the tank at Vijayadityamangala (Rice 1905, 10: Bp 4). The Mankunda inscription does not reveal how

Kudalur and Bhodariyur came to be vested with the rights of tax collection over Mankunda. It is possible that the rights were conferred on them for service rendered to the overlord, as in the case of the Devarahalli inscription (Gundlupet taluk, Mysore district), which records the gift of land *per se* to the Seventy of Upagola for military service (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Gu 207). It is noteworthy that the corporate bodies of the two villages gave away their right without any reference to superior authorities. The nature of the two taxes mentioned in the Mankunda inscription is not entirely clear.

Bhāga, which originally signified the king's share of the produce and later came to denote tax in general (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Bhāga*), is mentioned in several epigraphs. In most cases, however, it is unclear whether it denoted tax or merely a share in the produce or property. Thus, the Sorab copper-plates of Vinayaditya Chalukya record a supplementary grant of Salivoge grāma's bhāga by Basanta Kumara, the nephew or son-in-law (aḷiya) of Aneseti of Banavasi, to Devere (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 571). It is not clear whether this denoted a part of the village of Salivoge or the proceeds of bhāga, the tax. How Basanta Kumara derived his authority to make such a grant is equally unclear. The second reference to bhāga comes from the Hecce hero-stone (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 991. This records the grant of an equal part (bhāga) of gold and *baḻdu* (rice porridge [?]) from Gedeya, together with the *abhyantara siddhi āḷke* of Gedeya-12, to Jogayya, the grandson of Erehayya of Siballi, the Nāḻgāvuṇḍa of Gedeya-12 (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 477).[8] Bhāga in this case appears to relate to the mode of collecting taxes rather than the tax *per se*. The Uttaranihalli inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 1012, which records the establishment of a liṅga by Kondesara Butagosi of Uttarani and the grant of one mattar of land for the deity, enumerates that the donor received three shares *(mūbhāga)* while Kondesara Jogayya received one share (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 71). Here, bhāga clearly relates to the shares of the produce of the granted land and not to bhāga the tax. At all events, it is interesting

[8] It is noteworthy that abhyantara siddhi āḷke is distinguished from tax/rent in this reference. Could it perhaps signify judicial rights here?

to note that the donors retained a stake in the granted land. The Aruru inscription (Chintamani taluk, Kolar district) of AD 950 states that Pallavaditya Ileva Nolamba granted *pannasu bhāga* (fifty per cent [?]) from the five koḷagas of land to Kandayyayta, who was apparently a soldier attached to the king (Rice 1905, 10: Ct 50). While it is not clear whether the grant constituted of half the total produce of the land in question or of revenue from it, this is an instance of a feudal lord bestowing rights over land or revenue to his retainer.

There are references to a variety of minor or occasional dues apart from these taxes on land. One such minor tax was kiṟudeṟe, literally small tax, which finds mention in several epigraphs. Thus, the Belaguli hero-stone (Arkalgud taluk, Hassan district) of the tenth century, which registers the grant of Belgali grāma as abhyantara siddhi to the successors of Ankada Ketayya, specifically states that the Nāḍabōva and the Nāl̤gāvuṇḍa could not enter the village for the collection of kiṟudeṟe and aṭṭadeṟe (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Ag 41). A mid-tenth-century record from Avani (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district) registers the remission of twelve minor taxes (kiṟudeṟe) on the sthāna of Avanya in favour of the deity Mahadeva by Dilipayya Nolamba (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 51). This would indicate that kiṟudeṟe was not a single tax but a bundle of minor or occasional dues levied by a sovereign ruler and collected by the nāḍabōvas and nāl̤gāvuṇḍas. Like other sources of revenue, however, it, too, was undergoing the process of sub-infeudation. This impression is strengthened by the Koligere inscription (Maddur taluk, Mandya district) of AD 916–17, which registers the gift of the proceeds of aṭṭadeṟe, kiṟudeṟe and *sāmantadeṟe* from Tippeyur to a basadi (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Mu 100). The grant was made in the king's presence *(arasara adhyakṣadol)*, evidently with his consent. Since it was only the proceeds of the taxes that were donated, perhaps the mechanism of collection remained under royal control. Kuṟudeṟe was possibly an orthographical error for kiṟudeṟe, but the nature and incidence of aṭṭadeṟe cannot be discerned; since it is coupled with kiṟudeṟe in two cases, however, it would seem that its levying authority was the same, i.e., a sovereign within his personal domain.

Sāmantadeṟe literally means tax, *teṟe*, on the sāmantas, and might imply either a tribute paid by the sāmantas or the tax paid by the tenants to the deputy of the sovereign who held authority

in a particular area. Literary works employ the term *kappa* for tribute. Thus, in the *Vaḍḍārādhane*, Dhatrivahana sends messengers to Gurudatta demanding tribute (kappa) and the return of a fugitive carpenter *(baḍagi)* (Narasimhachar 1986, 191). Similarly in the *Pampa Bhārata*, Arjuna is said to have extracted tribute (kappa) from Kubera (Anantharangachar 1977, VI.32 vacana). In view of this, the second suggested meaning of sāmantaḍeṛe might apply to the Koligere inscription cited above. This is further supported by the fact that in Sanskrit literature, sāmanta regularly means holder of military rank (Jha 1994–95, 47). The Manne plates (Nelamangala taluk, Bangalore district) of Yuvarāja Marasimha support this inference by designating the donor, Shrivijaya, as *Sāmanta Sēnādhipati* (Ramesh 1984, 190–205 no. 49). Sāmanta Shri Muttara who in the tenth century was given two villages as vṛtti in reward for his services in the war against the Nolamba of Asandi nāḍu was also probably a holder of military rank (Krishna 1942b, Ak 215). However, Jha's conclusion that Shri Muttara did not have a hereditary right over any area, based on the presumption that his family would not then have needed two villages as a source of livelihood (Jha 1994–95, 47) is erroneous, since it has been seen that service was frequently acknowledged by generous grants in perpetuity despite and perhaps because of the exalted rank already held. High-ranking feudatories such as Butuga II Ganga, who already held Gangavadi, could be rewarded with additional assignments of Banavasi-12,000, Belvola-300, etc., by Krishna III Rashtrakuta for services rendered in the war against the Cholas (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Mu 42). This is not to question Jha's conclusion that sāmantas held transferable assignments; in such a case, sāmantaḍeṛe would imply taxes raised to pay the sāmanta in his area of assignment. The further grant of these taxes to a basadi would suggest that the basadi was now given the status of a sāmanta.

Like sāmantaḍeṛe, *paḍevaḷa gāma gadyāṇa* and *peggeḍegāṅke*, mentioned in the Krishnapura inscription (Yelandur taluk, Mysore district) of the early tenth century (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Yl 183) might signify taxes for the general of an army *(paḍevaḷa)* (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Paḍevaḷa*) and pergaḍes. Such a practice was in vogue in northern India, where taxes such as *akṣapaṭalādāya* were earmarked for the payment of officers (Sharma, personal communication). Since the area where the Krishnapura inscription

occurs fell within the royal domains of the Gangas, it can be argued that the overlord drew resources to support his personal retinue by levying these taxes. However, the present epigraph also points to sub-infeudation by recording the grant of land as a kalnāḍ with the right of abhyantara siddhi. The gifted land is specifically stated to be free from taxes such as paḍevaḷa gāma gadyāṇa, peggeḍegānke, *komara gadyāṇa* (one gadyāṇa levied on the birth of a prince) (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Komara-gadyāṇa*), *permāḍi...iltunayavarateṟe* [?], *nalchāvirapugiḷu, masivuṭṭige and maṭṭadeṟe* [?]. While the donee did not pay these taxes to the king, there was nothing to prevent his collecting it from the cultivating tenants.

The Sosale inscription (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) from the end of the eighth century indicates that local rulers could collect taxes to support their military retinue (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 120). The epigraph registers the appropriation by Vikramaditya-arasa of one gold coin (pon) out of the income (bhaṭamānya) of the palace soldiers *(aramaneya bhaṭamānya)* during the harvest (suggiyuḷ). The Varuna inscription (Mysore taluk, Mysore district) of the eighth century suggests that an army on the march was to be fed on one day while going and one day while returning by the people of a village (ūr) whose name is lost (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 183).

The taxes discussed above were levied by the king or by feudatories within their domains. Where they were farmed out to subordinates the taxes would take the form of rent payable to the landlord. Apart from these exactions, peasants were subject to several other onerous obligations of service. There is, for instance, the evidence of impressment of bullocks. The first reference to this practice comes from the Agara inscription (Yelandur taluk, Mysore district) of the eighth century, which registers an exemption from the impressment of bullocks (ettukoḷ) for one month during a festival *(parbadoḷ)* in favour of the Forty of Amasu and the Twenty. In addition, they were also granted exemption from forced labour (biṭṭi) for the same period (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Yl 138). Evidently the peasants were required to lend their bullocks at the will of the ruler for the rest of the year. An indirect reference to a similar obligation comes from the Kigga inscription (Koppa taluk, Chikmagalur district) of the seventh century, which records the grant of taxes (vari), in the form of

paddy, milk and bullocks, for the god Kilganeshvara (Rice 1901, 6: Kp 37). The epigraph specifically states that it was to be enjoyed by the god's servants, including the female servants of the deity *(dēvaḍittiyer)* (Settar, personal communication). This would indicate that the impressment of bullocks was regularly resorted to by the state. When this right was transferred to a temple, as in the Kigga epigraph or in the eleventh-century Chittavalli inscription (Chikmagalur taluk, Chikmagalur district), which records the gift of three bullocks to the Jiviteshvara temple (Rice 1901, 6: Cm 95), or to a brahmana or a secular assignee, it enabled them to exploit the practice for forced labour on their own lands.

Impressment of bullocks can be seen in the context of *vahanakarma*, one of the three forms of forced labour described in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya, which required the subjects of a kingdom to transport grain, weapons, tools, etc., for their sovereign without payment (Narasimhachar 1976, 223–24). *Mūviṭṭigaṁ*, or three forms of forced labour, is mentioned in the *Pampa Bhārata* as part of the obligation of subordinate rulers as well as of villagers (Anantharangachar 1977, VI.30). D. L. Narasimhachar has assumed that the mūviṭṭigaṁ of the *Pampa Bhārata* was a continuation of the three forms of labour in the *Arthaśāstra*. If so, it would imply that while the state utilised labour (vahanakarma) for the transport of essential items, the same right with its concomitant impressment of bullocks could be appropriated by the local landlord, to whom the right was transferred, for cultivation and agricultural production. The specific clause transferring this right for the enjoyment of temple servants would confirm this.[9]

The transfer of the right to levy forced labour (biṭṭi, *viṣṭi*) tended to produce similar results. One of the earliest references to viṣṭi occurs in the fifth century Hitnahebbagilu plates (Piriyapatna taluk, Mysore district) of Vijaya Shiva Mrigeshavarman Kadamba, which record the grant of Kirunirilli grāma to Sarvasvami of

[9] This is also the case with the Doddahomma inscription (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of AD 977, which includes a pair of bullocks (balivatta) among the grants to a temple by the Gāvuṇḍa and the Twelve of Piriyaholma (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 294).

Aupagahani gōtra with a present or gift *(dakṣiṇa)* and antaṣkara viṣṭikam, i.e., the right to levy internal taxes and forced labour (Sircar 1966: q.v. *Antaḥkara, Viṣṭi*) (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Pp 49). Since the village as a whole was granted together with this right, it would imply that the brahmana who was now its landlord could levy forced labour for his own purposes. Similarly, the Birur plates (Kadur taluk, Chikmagalur district) of Vishnuvarman Kadamba of the same period record the grant of a village and a hundred *nivarttana*s (areas) of land to eighty-five brahmanas, along with the right of viṣṭi (Rice 1901, 6: Kd 162). While these early copper-plates record brahmadēya grants, later references to viṣṭi occur mostly in the context of dēva dāna grants. Thus, the Kyatanahalli inscription (Pandavapura taluk, Mandya district) from the close of the ninth century records the grant by Rachamalla II and Ereyanga of forced labour for the Kella basadi constructed by Chagi Permānaḍi (Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Ppu 16). Similarly, the Kumasi grāma inscription (Shimoga taluk, Shimoga district), of c. AD 950, which records the construction of a Jaina temple (jinagēha), includes the details of grants made to it by several gauḍas and seṭṭis (Rice 1902, 7: Sh 114). There is a reference here to biṭṭi, but since the inscription is damaged at this point it is not quite clear who made this grant. If it was the gauḍas and seṭṭis, it would imply that the local landholding elite enjoyed the right to levy forced labour and could transfer the right at will. The Agara inscription (Yelandur taluk, Mysore district) (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Yl 138), one of the few references to occur in a secular context, suggests that the right originally resided with the king and was later transferred to local landlords, whether religious or secular assignees, as a result of sub-infeudation.

Another aspect of forced labour can be seen in the evidence that peasants tilling the land were tied to the estate. This is brought out by the Mysore copper-plates (Mysore taluk, Mysore district) of the early eleventh century, which record the grant of a kalnāḍ, consisting of Kadekola and Bermave, to Kuladhari (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 102). The inscription goes on to record his death at the house of his son Dharimuttara, who fled for some unknown reason. Thereupon, the gāvuṇḍas and the *besamakkaḷ* were freed *(biḍisidam)*. Besamakkaḷ has been explained as bond-servants by Nandi. He draws an interesting contrast between the terms *bandugiyar*, toḻtu and *besamaga:* the first two, in his opinion,

were bonded field labourers, while besamaga, which mostly appears in the context of attacks on agrahāras, probably denoted members of the rural militia (Nandi 1984, 42). In the Mysore copper-plates, the bracketing of the besamakkaḷ with the gāvuṇḍas might suggest that they were field labourers. Bond-servants (besamakkaḷ) also feature in the Iggali inscription (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of AD 892 as witnesses, together with the tenants (okkal) of the town (pura), to the kalnāḍ grant of Iggali and Dudugere to Racheya Ganga (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 204). Besamakkaḷ in this case included several ācāris (smiths). Thus, bondage applied not only to agricultural labourers but to artisans as well. The bondage of artisans is also attested to in a much earlier inscription from Kigga. This seventh-century epigraph states that the priest of Kigga temple received the service *(āḷu)* of kammāṟas (blacksmiths)(Rice 1901, 6: Kp 40). The Hale Bogadi inscription (Mysore taluk, Mysore district) from the early eleventh century also records the establishment of seemingly personal ties of bondage between Goggi Gāvuṇḍa of Nagavadi and Buvacari's son, who was conferred the title Goggiyācāri and crowned with the chaplet (paṭṭa) (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 221). An interesting range of occupational specialists acted as witnesses to this act: a cowherd (tuṟuvāḷa), a barber *(nāvida)*, a washerman *(asaga)*, a smith (ōja) and an outcaste *(holeya)*. A similar range of occupational specialists are cited as witnesses in the Mysore copper-plates as well: a potter [?] *(maṇṇiga)*, a goldsmith [?] *(poṅgulan)*, a woodcutter *(koḍaliyan)* and an ironsmith (kammāṟa). This enlisting of witnesses from the lower groups of artisans and labourers seems to have been a practice in the Mysore area, and may imply that their validation was required at least as a matter of courtesy.[10]

However, not all classes of artisans were reduced to bondage. Inscription engravers *(besageyda ācāri)* appear to have been highly mobile, servicing large areas particularly in the Eastern division. Thus, the Venkatapura inscription (Shrinivaspur taluk, Kolar

[10] In the context of land grants and land transfer, law digests lay down that the presence of village elders, neighbours and kinsmen was desirable, but not obligatory, to avoid future disputes (Jha 1994–95, 44). The same may apply here as well.

district) of c. AD 880 records the death of Kiruparavi Oḍeya in an inter-nāḍu conflict. The hero-stone was engraved by Kotiacari of Anandur, who evidently belonged to a different settlement from that of the commemorated hero (Rice 1905, 10: Sp 19). Several mid-tenth-century hero-stones from Yeldur and Tavarekere (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district) (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 105; 1905, 10: Mb 161–63) and Haralakunte (Kolar taluk, Kolar district) (1905, 10: Kl 245) were engraved by Vikramaditya of Koyattur, who appears to have been an itinerant craftsman serving a wide area. On the other hand, the Aruru epigraphs (Chintamani taluk, Kolar district) of AD 951 were written by two different individuals. While the place of origin of Gonachittara Kandayya is not clear, Aynurbachari, who wrote the second epigraph, is said to belong to Bijaitamangala (Rice 1905, 10: Ct 49, 50). If this is the same as Vijayadityamangala in Bowringpet taluk, then it would mean that Aynurbachari, like Vikramaditya of Koyattur, serviced large areas. As a postscript it may be added that Vijayadityamangala had been placed around this time under the authority of the Five Hundred Mahājanas of Kayvara, who were granted the bittuvaṭṭa of its tank in perpetuity (Rice 1905, 10: Bp 4). If so, Aynurbachari (the ācāri of the Five Hundred) might have derived his name from this group although it does not seem to have restricted his mobility. Thus, while the kammāṟas and ācāris of the Kigga and Iggali inscriptions appear to have been in bondage to the local landlord, such a state does not apply at least to one category of artisans in the Kolar area, who appear to have been itinerant craftsmen. It is not clear whether this represents an example of regional differences in practice or whether particular categories of craftsmen enjoyed a higher status, although on balance the former alternative seems the most likely. Eastern division records from the earliest period incorporate grants of land to artisans for their service as engravers.[11] While establishing such jajmāni relationships might be one method of making the services of artisans available to the landlords, it is interesting to note that

[11] Ramesh 1984, 80–84 no. 21, 94–98 no. 24, record supplementary grants of one khaṅḍukāvāpa of land for Kongani Perndattara. This practice continued up to the eighth century at least, as the Sivara inscription (Malur taluk, Kolar district) attests (Rice 1905,10: Mr 96.)

they did not find it necessary to bind the artisans to them, as seen in the Kigga or Iggali inscriptions cited earlier.

Impressions of peasant bondage emerge more clearly from the records from Mysore district. The okkal or cultivating tenants were regarded as a productive resource without whom the possession of land became meaningless. This is brought out by imprecations in several inscriptions of this area, which promise dire consequences to the okkal of the individual who violated the grant.[12] The majority of references to viṣṭi/biṭṭi also occur in Western division records, although impressment of bullocks is equally attested to in both divisions.[13] Thus it would seem that peasants in the Western division tended to be more closely bound to their land and weighed down by forced labour. The Vijayapura inscription, which mentions payment to local rulers for settlement of tenants (okkal) (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 146), reinforces the general impression of peasant bondage in the west of the region under study.

On the other hand, Eastern division records yield a larger number of references to grants of waste lands and forest lands. Thus, the Nandi copper-plates (Chikka-Ballapura taluk, Kolar district) of AD 727–28 included forest land (āraṇya kṣētra) in a brahmadēya grant (Ramesh 1984, 168 no. 44). Similarly, the Hosur plates (Gauribidanur taluk, Kolar district), of AD 762–63 record the grant of thirty *kudabavāpa*s of waste land (ūrpāḷ) at four villages and forest land (āraṇya kṣētra) of thirty khaṇḍukāvāpas for growing millet *(priyaṅgu)* as brahmadēya (Ramesh 1984, 169–73 no. 45). While these were instances of eleemosynary gifts, service assignments to heroes also included waste lands. An example of this is the ninth-century Bhaktarahalli hero-stone (Sidlaghatta taluk, Kolar district) of c. AD 870, which grants to heroes who defended the village of Madaḷur five koḷagas of paddy land and five of waste land (ūrpāḷ) (Rice 1905, 10: Sd 32). The Tinnilli hero-stone (Shrinivaspur taluk, Kolar district) grants one khaṇḍuga of paddy land (kaḷani) and five koḷagas of waste

[12] Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 63, 156; 1976, 5: TN 307, 145; 1976, 5: My 183, etc., record imprecations such as *okkal koripōguge* (tenants will be diminished) and *okkal kulanāsa* (destruction of the families of the tenants).

[13] Rice 1905, 10: Kl 6 of AD 754–55 records grants of bullocks and of land for an Isvara temple.

land ((ūrpāḷ) (Rice 1905, 10: Sp 50). While such grants no doubt contributed to the expansion of arable areas, it also curtailed the peasants' right of pasturage in the waste lands of the village and thus placed an involuntary limit on the number of livestock the tenants could keep. Given that livestock breeding was an important means of subsistence, such grants of waste lands and forest lands severely impaired the peasants' means of livelihood.

The authority of the landlords over the means of irrigation was another method of indirect control over the peasants. As seen earlier, construction of tanks was an activity mostly undertaken by large-scale landed proprietors. In return they were granted the right of bittuvaṭṭa, which usually amounted to a certain proportion of the produce of the land irrigated by the tank, or in some cases, the land itself (Rice 1902, 5: Cn 251; Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Sr 85; 1979, 7: Md 54, 67). Thus, peasants would have to pay a rent, sometimes denoted by the term nīrvari (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 284), for the right of access to irrigation.

In sum, while there is some evidence of forced labour and even the tying down of tenants to the land, particularly from the Western division, it would seem that it was not necessary to resort to these direct means of control; the levying of rents for the right of cultivation and irrigation and the payment of sundry taxes to the local ruler or his subordinates was sufficiently oppressive to characterise the mode of production as feudal.[14]

Like the Rashtrakuta epigraphs (Sharma 1980, 100–01), inscriptions of the second phase from southern Karnataka specify the taxes that were transferred to the donee. In some cases even the amounts to be collected are clearly mentioned, limiting the scope enjoyed by the donee to increase the amounts raised as rent or tax. Indeed, the Magudilu inscription (Heggadedevanakote taluk, Mysore district) of the eighth century states that the taxes were to be collected at the prevailing rates *(andinā teṟeē andinā keyvesane)* (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 156). Although this might have been an attempt by the state to protect the interests of the tenants, it is a moot point whether it could indeed check the

[14] However, Hindess and Hirst stress that serfdom and peasant bondage were not essential for characterising the feudal relations of production (Hindess and Hirst 1975, 241).

excesses of the donee once the grant had been made. The Devarahalli inscription (Gundlupet taluk, Mysore district) of the same period suggests that the sanctions employed by the state to protect the tenants' interests might have been purely ideological. It includes an imprecation to the effect that the person who took away the land from the tenants, enjoyed it and fought for it would lose his arms and eyes (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Gu 207). This might have been a threat of punishment as well, although the fact that it is coupled with the imprecation that violators of the grant would be considered as having committed the five great sins *(pañcamahāpātaka)* has led it to be interpreted as a curse.

The position of the tenants might have been mitigated somewhat by their corporate groups. It may be recollected from the Agara inscription (Yelandur taluk, Mysore district) that the Forty of Amasu and the Twenty won for the cultivators at least a temporary reprieve from forced labour and the impressment of bullocks (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Yl 138). Unfortunately, the composition of many such groups is unclear. In many cases they comprised of gāvuṇḍa landlords. Inscriptions from Coorg mention the Eṇṭokkal, which was clearly a body of cultivators (Gopal et al. 1972, 1: 59–60 no. 96, 61 no. 98). Ramesh interprets okkal when preceded by a number as the permanent resident families of a locality with inalienable landholdings in it.[15] That this body's consent to grants was required, together with the Aysāmantas and the Seventy *(Ēḷpadimbar)*, indicates that such a body could wield some influence, even if pre-eminent power was exercised by the landlords.

In literary works the term okkal is used to denote not merely the cultivating tenants of a landlord but the military retainers as well. This is brought out by the *Chāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇam*, where the grief-stricken daughter of Damitarishakti takes to the veil at the death of her family and okkal, after the destruction of their army at the hands of Aparajita and Anantavirya (Kulkarni

[15] Ramesh 1984, 326 fn. 3. It may also be recollected that the gāvuṇḍas were themselves drawn from this class of okkal initially. Even though they were increasingly differentiated with the passage of time, the common origins might have vouchsafed a certain degree of protection to at least the upper stratum of the okkal.

1975, 201). Since the work mentions only the destruction of the army and not the laying waste of the countryside, it would appear that the term okkal refers here to military retainers and not tenants. The analytic inseparability of the two in tenth-century Kannada works is further brought out by the *Pampa Bhārata* in two contexts: in the first, Pampa states that rulers, villagers and clans accepting the suzerainty of the Pandavas offered all their wealth *(sāra dhana)* and accepted the three forms of forced labour (mūviṭṭigaṁ) (Anantharangachar 1977, VI.30). In the second, after the period of exile, infractious hill chieftains (maḷepa), feudatory chiefs (maṇḍalika) and heroes *(vīrarkaḷ)* are said to have offered their living, their heads *(bāḷdale)* and any object desired by the Pandavas, and agreed to perform the three forms of forced labour like any tenant *(okkala vōlim)*.[16] It is noteworthy that forced labour (biṭṭi) is mentioned in conjunction with the okkal, but that vassals are stated to have accepted this obligation would imply that they were recognised merely as a specialised category of tenants. In the first category, moreover, the groups submitting and accepting the obligation of forced labour (mūviṭṭigaṁ) were villagers *(grāmam)*, clans (kula) and petty rulers *(rājaka)*. At the lowest levels of the socio-political hierarchy, the power and authority of corporate groups of villagers, brahmanas, gāvuṇḍas, the okkal, etc., petty chieftains (arasa) and various scions of the ruling lineages was all-pervasive. In contrast to these groups, the hill chieftains, feudatory chiefs and heroes offered their heads and their living as more befitting to their station. The reference to their heads perhaps implies the obligation of military service that was accepted by them.

The Duties of Vassals

Literary works deal at length with the duties and obligations of the vassal towards his lord. "A servant *[bhṛtya]* should sacrifice wealth and life for his master and fight without accepting aid or

[16] Anantharangachar 1977, IX.10. Mūviṭṭigaṁ included, apart from the impressments of bullocks (vahanakarma) referred to earlier, *śōdhanakarma* or repair of wells, roads, bridges, etc., and *apanayanakarma* or the handing over of wounded soldiers, together with weapons and armour. These were the duties of the defeated kings.

without fear. If he can, he should fight to win, if not he should put in his best effort and die fighting. Such is the duty of the servant *[āḷ, bhṛtya]*. If he should slip away from the field without doing either, his honour would be tarnished." Thus does Ranna's Duryodhana define the duties of the subordinate to the lord who nourished him (Kulkarni 1985, II.21, 22). The obligation of the vassal is termed jōḷapāḷi, the debt of subsistence. Karna refuses to join the Pandavas at Kunti's behest, saying that by doing so he would default on his debt to Duryodhana and tarnish his fame (Anantharangachar 1977, IX.84). Duryodhana likewise chides Bhishma for only recollecting his kinship to and affection for the Pandavas, and requests him to remember his debt of subsistence to the Kauravas *(joḷadapāḷiyumaninisu bageyim nimmol)* (Anantharangachar 1977, XI.15). In the *Gadāyuddham*, Duryodhana rails against Drona and Ashvatthama for disregarding their debt to him (Kulkarni 1985, II.11). The vassals of Damitari in Ponna's *Shāntipurāṇam* resolve to fight against Aparajita and Anantavirya, who had abducted Princess Kanakashri, in order to discharge their debt to their lord (Nagarajayya 1982, III.67–71). While inscriptions conspicuously omit mention of the term jōḷapāḷi, the vassals' obligation to fight at the command of their lord is brought out clearly enough. Several instances have already been cited of subordinates marching to battle at the command of their lord *(eṟe vesadoḷ)* (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 79, 200; 1902, 7: Sk 219, etc.).

Loyal retainters (vēḷevāḷi), on the other hand, are mentioned in inscriptions but do not receive much attention in literary works. One of the few references in literature to loyal retainers is in the *Vaḍḍārādhane*, which mentions fierce warriors under the oath of *vēḷe (vēḷegoṇḍirdatyugra bhaṭarkaḷ)* among the mainstays of a ruler (Narasimhachar 1986, 187). Vēḷevāḷis were expected to fight for their master in his lifetime, and there are several epigraphic references to vēḷevāḷis dying in battle (Nilakantha Sastri 1958, Tm 95; Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 173, 174, 178, etc.). In this respect they were indistinguishable from the other retainers (āḷ) of the monarch. What set them apart was their act of following their lord or lady in death, whether by offering their heads, as Akatega (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 479) or Erekalinga (Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Ppu 253) did; by immolating themselves like Bedante Racheya (1984, 8: Ag 24) or Babiyamma (1984,

8: Ag 26) or by becoming *kiḷguṇṭhe* (supporting the king's corpse from below on a grave or a funeral pyre) (Chidanandamurthy 1979, 312–13) like Mane-maga Agarayya (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 257; Fleet 1900–1901b, 41–42).

The institution of vēlevāḷi points to the close bond between a warrior and the ruler and his consort, implying some kind of a contract. Abu Zaid, an Arab traveller in the Rashtrakuta realms, stated that kings during their coronation had a sort of religious communion with a large number of their companions, who shared cooked rice served on a single banana leaf with the monarch. Such men, he reported, were obliged to burn themselves on the very day the king ceased to live (Sreenivasa Murthy 1994, 128–29). A somewhat similar ceremony is portrayed in a twelfth-century hero-stone, which records the death of Boppana, the vēḷe of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Sovideva's consort, Lachchaladevi. The illustration on the panel shows Lachchaladevi presenting a cloth to Boppana, which he accepts with obvious devotion. In the opinion of M. Chidanandamurthy, this depicts the ceremony in which Boppana took oath as a vēlevāḷi, in return for which he received due honour from his patroness (Chidanandamurthy 1979, 308). However, the ceremony described by Abu Zaid is more likely to have been in vogue in the period under study.

A vēḷevāḷi was also known as a mane-maga (son of the house). It has been suggested that this corresponds to the *kulaputra* mentioned in Bana's *Harṣacarita* (Settar and Kalaburgi 1982, 32; Chidanandamurthy 1979, 308). The term once again highlights the close bond between the retainer and the lord. The vēḷevāḷi evidently looked upon the lord as his father and identified himself completely with his interests. The vēḷe oath implied that the individual accepting it would have to commit suicide on the death of the person for whom it was undertaken. For the most part, it was the warriors who undertook this vow, but occasionally kinsmen could take the vēḷe oath for their loved ones, as Yudhisthira did for his brothers in the *Pampa Bhārata* (Anantharangachar 1977, XIII.15), or Kondabbe for her father, Nagattara (Rice 1905, 9: Bn 88). The ceremony of oath-taking had elements of a contract, with the vēḷevāḷi offering his life in the interest of his lord or lady and in return receiving subsistence and the status of a son of the house.

In general, hero-stones represent a recognition of the fulfilment of contractual obligations by the subordinate in responding to the chief's summons to armed service, and by the overlord in extending protection and reward to the family of the warrior. Nandi opines that the contract was symbolised by the tying of the badge of honour (paṭṭaṁgaṭṭi) on the forehead of the subordinate by his superior in the case of the low-ranking fief-holders; in the case of the high-ranking officers and commanders, the contract was symbolised by the gifts of estate, symbols of feudal authority such as the pañcamahāśabda, parasols and agricultural tracts commensurate with their status (Nandi 1984, 27).

In literary sources, the tying of the chaplet (paṭṭabandha) is associated with the conferment of the supreme command of the army (Anantharangachar 1977, X.33–34 vacana). The element of contract is most clearly brought out in the *Pampa Bhārata* in the consecration of Karna as the Kaurava commander-in-chief, wherein Duryodhana requests him to defeat the enemy and protect his sovereignty. Karna in return reasserts his subordination (Anantharangachar 1977, XII.57 vacana). Duryodhana then ties the chaplet on the hero's forehead with his own hands and blesses him *(sēseyanikki)*, conferring on him much gold *(padineṇṭu kōṭi ponnumam)*, some of his own ornaments and jewel-bedecked elephants. Karna in turn bestows this gold on those desiring it and significantly apparels his captains *(nāyakar)* (Anantharangachar 1977, XII.62 vacana).

The gifts thus conferred by Duryodhana on Karna and Karna on his captains were made in expectation of future service. Kalnāḍ grants, on the other hand, were made in appreciation of past service. Unlike in Europe, where the fief was an economic grant of land conditional on the performance of military duties (Anderson 1987, 208), evidence indicates that in southern Karnataka the grant of land was made subsequent to the performance of military service to the overlord, and in the majority of cases, these grants were made in perpetuity.

Inscriptions very often do not record the performance of services prior to the grants. Thus, the eighth-century Aralukote inscription (Shrinivaspur taluk, Kolar district) records that Veddipenimane begged for and was anointed *(bēḍi paṭṭaṁgaṭṭi koṭṭudu)*, receiving a grant of land in perpetuity (Ramesh

1984, 223 no. 54). The services rendered by him or the duties owed by him as a consequence of his anointment are not specified. Similarly, the Mugulavalli inscription (Chikmagalur taluk, Chikmagalur district) includes a supplementary grant of land (maṇṇu), together with the tying of the chaplet (paṭṭa), to the son of Rama Gāvuṇḍa (Rice 1901, 6: Cm 129). It is possible that Rama Gāvuṇḍa's son was being rewarded for his father's role in the battle of Kalikatti, for which one Madivarma was lauded in the same record, although it does not state so specifically. The Vartur inscription (Bangalore taluk, Bangalore district) also records a supplementary grant to a military officer *(nāyaka)* (Rice 1905, 9: Bn 40). There is no mention here of a paṭṭabandha ceremony, and no indication is given as to why this grant was made. It was probably a service grant, although its conditions are not stated in the document.

In the case of the higher-ranking feudatories, paṭṭabandha implied the coronation by the overlord following a defeat in battle, as in the case of Shivamara II Ganga (Ramesh 1984, 190–205 no. 49, ll. 64–66) or voluntary submission, as with Marasimha II (1984, 411–32 no. 138, ll. 124–25). Such subordination was accompanied by obligations of service, which are most clearly brought out in literary sources rather than in the inscriptions.

Thus, the picture which emerges is of a complex political structure held together by obligations of military service and grants of land. The feudal lord held land over which he appear to have had autonomous control, extracting rent, tax and unpaid labour from the peasants. His relations with his superiors appears to have depended on the existing balance of power and the commonality of interests between the overlord and the vassal. The feudal lord served his overlord if it suited his interests or if the latter was powerful enough; if not, he failed even to acknowledge his suzerainty. It has been seen earlier that the Gangas lost large tracts of land in the Eastern division to the Nolambas and Banas, who rarely acknowledged their overlordship. Although the feudal ethos demanded dedicated service, the nature of the kalnāḍ grants appears to have resulted in the growing autonomy of the fief-holder.

Lack of an Organised Bureaucracy

The absence of an organised bureaucracy was a particular feature of the early medieval state in southern Karnataka. The gāvuṇḍa headmen of villages and nāḍus were responsible for the collection of such taxes as the kiṟudeṟe and the aṭṭadeṟe (Shama Sastri 1922–23, no. 4; Rice 1905, 10: Kl 25, 26). They also acted as witnesses to grants and were responsible for the demarcation of granted lands. They emerged as a significant section of the landholding elite as fief-holders, closely bound to the ruler and bearing his titles. Indeed, the gāvuṇḍu of a nāḍu was frequently granted as a reward for meritorious military service (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 5; 1984, 8: Ag 105; Rice 1902, 7: Sk 219). The position of the gāvuṇḍas was thus somewhat ambiguous; they were both landlords and representatives of the state—with the former being more important for their self-definition.

Pergaḍes were officials who were entrusted with the rule of a village with the rights of abhyantara siddhi. They gradually became a class of feudal lords and were ranked as such. Some pergaḍes enjoyed a higher rank in the feudatory hierarchy than others and were additionally designated as mahāmātyas (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 70). In literary sources, pergaḍes continue to be looked upon as royal officials employed either as envoys or as superintendents of the royal household (mane-vergaḍe) (Nagarajayya 1982, II.22 vacana) or of the harem *(rāṇiyavāsada pergaḍe)* (1982, II.60). While there are a couple of inscriptional references to pergaḍes as royal envoys and one of a mane-vergaḍe, the majority of the epigraphic references to pergaḍes stress their character as feudal lords.

Inscriptions from Shimoga, Chikmagalur, Hassan and Mysore mention prabhus and nāl̤gāmigas, who discharged administrative and military functions such as granting tax exemptions and defending the nāḍu. However, they were primarily local notables who were enlisted as witnesses to grants.

Literary sources mention other officials as well, who are conspicuous by their absence from the epigraphic corpus. This is the case with the niyōgis, who are listed in the *Vaḍḍārādhane* as royal officials (Narasimhachar 1986, 56). Likewise, the *Pampa*

Bhārata mentions the Niyōgi of the *madiya bhaṇḍāra*, who was responsible for the provision of clothes and jewels to the princes, princesses and queens (Anantharangachar 1977, V.67 vacana). The *Shāntipurāṇam* vests this responsibility with the *Kośādhyakṣa* (Nagarajayya 1982, II.70 vacana). Other officials were those who officiated in court ceremonies: principal among them was the *Paḍiyaṟa* (Anantharangachar 1977, IX.29 vacana) or *Dauvārika* (Nagarajayya 1982, II.18 vacana), who was the doorkeeper and informed the king of the arrival of visitors. A paḍiyaṟa is mentioned in the Kadur epitaph (Kadur taluk, Chikmagalur district) of AD 971, which commemorates the death of Pambabbe, the sister of Butuga II (Rice 1901, 6: Kd 1). She was the senior queen *(piriyarasi)* of *Immadi Paḍiyaṟa* Dhorapayya. The title of Piriyarasi applied to Pambabbe would indicate that Dhorapayya was king (arasa) within his own dominions but filled the post of the Paḍiyaṟa in the Ganga court. From the standpoint of the Gangas, his identity was defined by his court position, which would indicate that the officials of the royal court were drawn from the ranks of the feudatories. Similar is the case with the office of the *Aḍepa*, the carrier of the betel pouch, which is mentioned in the Arani inscription (Nagamangala taluk, Mandya district) of AD 972 (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ng 99). The inscribed slab is said to have been prepared by Aḍepada Adayya. Ramesh opines that *aḍepavaḷas* are known to have risen to eminent positions (Ramesh 1984, 457). However, it is more likely that, like the paḍiyaṟa, the aḍepavaḷas were subordinate feudal lords who were reduced to that position in the court of their overlord. The *Harṣacarita* mentions defeated kings who were humiliated in the court of Harsha by being made to carry fans (Sharma 1980, 21). Their rise to higher positions in court may have been due to an increase in power because of enhanced territorial holdings or loyal service to the overlord.

The *Sāsanadoṟe* or maintainer of records is mentioned in the Kukkanur plates (Yelburga taluk, Raichur district) of Marasimha II of AD 968 as being responsible for the drafting and engraving of the document (Ramesh 1984, 494–513 no. 159, ll. 229–30). This official does not appear to hold any territory as lord, although the possibility cannot be ruled out.

The Cholas in Southern Karnataka

The imperial Cholas under Rajaraja I Chola had conquered Gangavadi by AD 1004 (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Md 54). Their inscriptions attest to the presence of officials such as the tax collector (iṟai taṇḍuginṟa), officers of the revenue accounts *(puravuvari)* such as the *Puravuvari tiṇai kkaḷattu nāyagam, Vari tiṇai kkaḷattu kankāṇi, Vari poṭṭaga kaṇakku, Variyiliḍu, Mugaveṭṭi* and *Paṭṭolar* (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 25, 111, 112[a]), the officer who made the tax settlement of the nāḍu *(Nāḍu vagai)* (1905, 9: Cp 132), etc. This would indicate that the Cholas extended their bureaucratic organisation to cover southern Karnataka as well. Although lands and taxes were often assigned to temples in Gangavadi itself, the impression gained is that they drew resources from this area. The bureaucratic control of the Cholas over this region is further attested to by the fact that southern Karnataka was brought within the ambit of the territorial reorganisation carried out by Rajaraja I and Rajendra I. Gangavadi and Nolambavadi were renamed Mudigonda-Solamandalam and Nigarili-Solapuram, and the new *valanāḍu* units were introduced here as well (see Appendix I, nos. 29, 30, 34, 186–88, etc.). The process of renaming the regions was thorough, with Talakad becoming Rajarajapuram, and Tadimalingi as Jananathapuram (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 169, 233, 229).

However, an indepth look at the Chola inscriptions in this region indicates that they exercised close control only over the emergent exchange centres (nagaram) and brahmadēyas established by them. It is in these settlements that the Tamil inscriptions recording the presence of the Chola administrative cadre are found (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 230, 227, 233, 229; Rice 1905, 9: Cp 132, 130, 131, 42[a]; 1905, 10: Mb 123, Kl 106[b], 106[a], 106[c], Kl 112[a], 112[f], etc.). The Chola inscriptions in ordinary peasant settlements are in Kannada, and portray a situation in which the gāvuṇḍas continued to hold sway, although they had shifted their allegiance to the Cholas and bore the titles of their new sovereigns (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 142; 1974, 3: Hg 58; Rice 1905, 9: Ht 10; 1905, 10: Mb 208, 256, etc.).

This does not imply that the Cholas derived their revenue only from the nagarams, brahmadēyas and dependent settlements. On the contrary, as the Kolar inscriptions (Kolar town) from the Saptamātṛka temples indicate (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 106[b], 106[c]), ordinary peasant settlements were also assessed and their revenue collected and apparently remitted to Cholamandalam, unless they were granted for some temple in Gangavadi itself. The village (ūr) and district (nāḍu) gāvuṇḍas were yoked to the new order and were responsible for the collection of taxes from their areas, as the Sulidenahalli inscriptions (Kolar taluk, Kolar district) suggest (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 25, 26). Apart from the gāvuṇḍas, the feudatories of higher rank such as Aprameya, the lord of Kottamangala (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 200), the Kongalvas (Rice 1902, 5: Ag 143) and the last Gangas (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Md 54) themselves accepted the overlordship of the imperial Cholas and rendered military service to them.

Thus, the Cholas differed from earlier suzerains such as the Gangas and the Chalukyas only in possessing a more organised bureaucracy. For the most part they attempted to utilise the existing power hierarchy for their own purposes, but they also systematically used the brahmadēyas, nagarams and temples to integrate peripheral units with the heartland (Champakalakshmi 1986[b], 20). The introduction of Shivabrahmanas (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 106[b]) and Shrivaishnavas (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 227) to southern Karnataka was possibly a deliberate device to plant loyal groups of ideologues in the newly conquered territories. Certainly, the Cholas exercised closer control over these territories than the protagonists of the segmentary theory suggest.

The segmentary state theory propounded by Aidan Southall in the context of the Alur society of Africa was applied by Burton Stein to South India, particularly to the Chola kingdom. In his view, the districts (nāḍu), under the leadership of chiefs holding the titles of *Mummuḍi, Mūvēndavēḷār, Arasar* or *Uḍaiyar* constituted the basic building-blocks of the segmentary state. The basis of complementary opposition, an essential feature of segmentary states, in South India was not that of ethnically or culturally differentiated peoples, as in the case of the Alur, but between the families of chiefs and the dominant castes from which they had emerged; between agricultural and non-agricultural groups; between established castes of a community

and newcomers; and among sect and cult groups. Many of these oppositions took concrete form in the Right and Left hand groupings (Stein 1980, 270–71). However, as Subbarayalu has pointed out, such a definition is problematical, since opposition between agricultural and non-agricultural groups would be insignificant or non-existent in the predominantly agrarian society of the period. Consequently, opposition between the Right and Left hand groups cannot be interpreted as one between the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors; instead, it may have signified an opposition between the established castes of a locality and the newcomers, and even this is hypothetical. In any case, as Stein himself admits, the relations between opposing elements were often asymmetrical. Thus, in the absence of complementary opposition between balanced and opposed elements it would hardly be appropriate to speak of pyramidal segmentation, a defining feature of the segmentary state (Subbarayalu 1982, 298).

Stein analyses the territorial structure of the Chola state into three zones: central, intermediate and peripheral. He asserts that the effective territorial sovereignty of the Cholas was confined only to the central zone, the rich and populous Kaveri delta, and that beyond this region the Chola sovereignty was an increasingly ritual hegemony as the peripheral zones of Kongu and Gangavadi were approached (Stein 1980, 321). The myth of Gangetic origins; the royal Shiva cult, which incorporated the local and caste tutelary deities; the network of brahmanical institutions throughout the realm accompanied by impressive rituals jointly participated in by the Chola ruling house and the locally dominant personages; and the propagation of a standard symbolic system through copper and lithic inscriptions are all viewed as means used by the Chola rulers to establish ritual hegemony over the local chieftains (Stein 1980, 357).

The theory of a segmentary state is in opposition to the concept of a unitary state, which is defined as possessing a territorial sovereignty, centralised government, specialised administrative staff and a monopoly over the use of legitimate force (Stein 1980, 265). Stein argues that the Chola state lacked a centralised system of taxation, with the king depending on war booty and plunder to fill his treasury. The segmentary state theory is further elaborated on by G. W. Spencer, who posits a tax–tribute–plunder continuum with taxation as the form of exaction in areas where

dynastic power was the strongest, tribute as the form imposed on peripheral or powerful chieftains and plunder as the irregular exaction taken from areas normally subject to rival dynasties (Spencer 1976, 406–07). Stein and Spencer concur that villages in the core areas were also difficult to tax, and consequently kings had to turn to plundering raids on the periphery to secure a supplementary flow of resources in the form of livestock, jewels and other kinds of portable wealth as booty. These plundering raids also served as integrative devices to keep subordinate chiefs preoccupied with profitable expeditions (Spencer 1976, 419). However, the researches of scholars such as Karashima and B. Sitaraman have shown that the mainstays of the Chola state were land tax, iṟai or kaḍamai; professional taxes on oil pressers, goldsmiths and weavers; and tax on cultivating tenants; while a vast array of taxes mentioned in their records were local or occasional in nature (Subbarayalu 1982, 287). A similar picture emerges from southern Karnataka in the pre-Chola period as well: there are references to a whole array of taxes, of which siddhāya, pattondi, kiṟudeṟe and aṭṭadeṟe appear to have been the major levies. All the ranks of the feudatory hierarchy, from the gāvuṇḍas to the kings, appear to have enjoyed a cut from these taxes. The postulate of the politics of plunder would appear to be more apposite in the case of the chiefdoms of the Sangam age but is hardly applicable to the Cholas, or even their predecessors in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, when a vast agrarian surplus was available for the state to redistribute among the integrative elements of society (Chattopadhyaya 1983, 42–43).

Stein also denies the existence of a standing army. He believes that the earlier, existing military units controlled and led by the peasantry were recruited for the military expeditions of the Cholas (Stein 1980, 189). However, Subbarayalu cites evidence of the existence of royal regiments named after the various pseudonyms of Rajaraja I Chola who also performed many civil functions in the countryside. He places the emergence of the peasant militia to the post-eleventh century, which also saw the rise of the supra-local mercantile organizations (Subbarayalu 1982, 300). It has already been seen that the militias of the brahmanas, the ordinary peasant villages and as the mercantile organisations such as the Vira Baṇanjus were active in southern Karnataka in the pre-Chola period. These groups participated in royal campaigns as well as

in local skirmishes and were rewarded for their gallantry, but this does not mean that the royalty did not have its own armed forces. For the most part, these appear to have consisted of warriors who were bound to the king by the vēḷe oath and the obligation of jōḷapāḷi. Other units at the disposal of the sovereign were the forces of the subordinates, which were not always reliable. It has been suggested by K. Veluthat that similar circumstances existed in most of South India in the early medieval period (Veluthat 1997, 24).

Stein interpreted the bureaucracy as local leaders who derived their powers and legitimacy of secular authority from their membership in, and leadership over, peasant groups in their localities. Mention of officers (adikāri) and other high officials in the royal records describe them as performing scribal functions and producing ritual documents rather than fulfilling bureaucratic orders (Stein 1980, 117, 357). However, Subbarayalu points out that Stein confuses offices with titles of status. Officials in the Chola state were highly mobile, while local leaders were confined to their localities (Subbarayalu 1982, 299). Moreover, Chola inscriptions record grants of land and revenue that are precisely demarcated and defined. This would indicate that Chola documents were not merely ritual in nature, aiming at incorporating locality chiefs under their sacral kingship, but also records of administrative acts. This would hold good of the Gangas and their contemporaries as well, although none seem to have possessed a bureaucracy as well organised as the Cholas. Chola control over southern Karnataka, as has been pointed out above, seems impressive, and they certainly derived revenue from this peripheral province as they did from Sri Lanka, whose revenues were assigned to the Thanjavur temple by Rajaraja I.

The other defining features of the segmentary state, such as the presence of numerous foci of administration and the absence of the monopoly of force at the centre, imply a decentralised polity with parcellised sovereignty. This affinity of the segmentary political order with the feudal system has been observed by Southall, who considered the feudal system compatible with the segmentary political system (Sharma 1989–90, 93). Similarly, Stein in his later formulation posits a generalised polity of chiefdoms based on a strong hereditary principle, with extensive authority over wide areas and over varied and internally ranked

local social segments. In his opinion, these chieftains derived their authority from local landholding groups or from conquest. They were deemed to share sovereignty with greater kings, who derived their exalted status from investiture in accordance with Vedic canons (Stein 1989, 12). It is hard to see how this differs from the feudal political order. However, the concept of feudalism is not exhausted with the delineation of a decentralised and parcellised political system; on the contrary, the core of the feudal mode of production lay in the rent-extraction relation between the class of landlords and a class of servile peasantry. Unfortunately, the segmentary state concept does not elaborate on the socio-economic aspects of this theory (Sharma 1989–90, 93). Taking advantage of this, Southall envisages the application of the segmentary state concept not only to the feudal mode but also to the kinship mode of production and to the Asiatic mode. As Sharma observes, an understanding of this subject does not improve with the application of a blanket label to divergent social formations with separate and distinct identities (Sharma 1989–90, 93). In addition, Perlin points out that the terms segmentary state and peasant state are negative, and are used by Stein to refer to the priority of the corporate peasant order and its autonomous and pre-state character. Its relationship with the court or the temple was one of ritual unity and not of a managerial or exploitative kind. Given that the system according to Stein was marked by the absence of surplus extraction, the usage of the term peasant is anomalous, since the conventional definition of peasants posits their incorporation into larger spheres of political or exploitative ordering through various forms of surplus extraction. Thus, Stein's use of the terms state and peasantry is questionable, given his premise that the segmentary state in South India was marked by the absence of a bureaucratic state order, a standing army and taxation (Perlin 1985, 126–27).

The balance of evidence seems to indicate that the feudal mode of production is the most applicable to the information available, whether of the Chola or the pre-Chola period. Perry Anderson has opposed the essentialist definition of feudalism which has been adopted in the previous exposition on the grounds that a definition that reduces it to a combination of large landownership with small peasant production, where the exploiting class extracts surplus through customary forms of labour services and rents in

cash or kind, ignores the constitutional and judicial systems peculiar to feudalism – in particular, parcellised sovereignty, vassal hierarchy and the fief system – and is unable to explain the unique dynamism of the European theatre of feudalism. In his opinion, all pre-capitalist modes of production were characterised by extra-economic coercion, and therefore those modes can be defined only in terms of their political, legal and ideological superstructures, since they determine the type of extra-economic coercion that specifies them (Anderson 1987, 402–03). However, enough evidence has already been cited of the existence of parcellised sovereignty, vassal hierarchy and the fief system in southern Karnataka—a structure that even the advent of the Cholas does not seem to have changed substantially. The major difference between Europe and southern Karnataka lay in the fact that service assignments were not made conditional to the performance of military service but were rewards for past performance of such service. There does not appear to be any evidence for their revocation. Hence, even if feudalism is defined in terms of its superstructural components, its applicability to early medieval Karnataka cannot be denied.

Chris Wickham has suggested that the difference between the historical development in Europe and Asia lay in the fact that the feudal mode of production dominated social formation in Europe alone, whereas in Asia it subsisted along with state taxation, which he terms tributary mode of production, borrowing the phrase from Samir Amin. Even as the territorial extent of the state increased or decreased and the centralised polity was replaced by regional states, the revenue collection machinery never entirely disappeared as it did in medieval Europe; tax collection was never decentralised institutionally in Asia, though it was farmed out in times of trouble (Wickham 1985, 169). Sharma, however, controverts this, arguing that the process of land grants to brahmanas and other religious beneficiaries led to just such a process of decentralisation of the tax collection machinery. The harvesting of taxes was entrusted on a permanent basis to lay and clerical beneficiaries, which enabled a feudal aristocracy to take root in the countryside and wipe out the centralised state machinery (Sharma 1980, 265–67). This contention is supported by Dirks, who holds in another context

that the pre-colonial kingdoms were sustained by an efficient system of military mobilisation organised around subordinate chieftains, connubial connections and privileged landholdings rather than a centralised and bureaucratically organised system of revenue collection. Military organisation was sustained by royal grants and little, if any, revenue flowed into the royal treasury (Dirks 1990, 66). This is borne out by evidence from southern Karnataka in the early medieval period where, as has been seen, the Gangas gradually lost control over the Eastern division and over vast tracts of the Western division as a result of secular and eleemosynary grants. They seem to have derived revenue chiefly from territories held directly by them, and tribute from such subordinates as paid them. Even in their own territories, the gāvuṇḍas and nāḍabōvas, who constituted the revenue collecting machinery, were entitled to a share of revenue so collected. Hence, these strata of the feudal hierarchy were strengthened even within the royal domains. The feudal political order was thus characterised by the existence of a large number of sāmantas of various grades. The growth of the sāmanta hierarchy after the sixth century was reflected in the ideology of *dharmavijaya*, whereby the conqueror was enjoined to reinstate the defeated princes, but its material basis has been explained by the protagonists of the school of Indian feudalism to mean the fragmentation and hierarchical gradation of political authority (Yadava 1973, 149).

In contrast, Kulke and Chattopadhyaya lay stress on the integrative mechanisms operative in the early medieval polity. The structure of polity was based not on the elimination of existing bases of power but on their integration, with the overlord as the spearhead of the structure. The overlord himself had his roots in local lineage power. The expansion of the lineage to supra-local power was through the pooling of military resources and other forms of support from other lineages. Such pooling required not only a redistribution of resources acquired in the process of expansion but also a system of ranking related to the territorial hold of the rankholder. Since the territory of a lineage was not static, the ranking of individual lineages also underwent changes (Kulke 1982, 258ff; Chattopadhyaya 1983, 43–45).

The model of integrative polity does not dispute the existence of the sāmanta hierarchy; rather, it questions the standard

interpretation that views it as a creation of the state. Early medieval polity is perceived as having arisen from the spread of the state society to peripheral areas and its penetration to the local agrarian level (Chattopadhyaya 1983, 46). The model suggests how these intermediary strata could have emerged, and recognises that the presence of the sāmantas, the landed intermediaries of the period, led to the weakening of the state's hold over both the polity and the revenue from the constituent territorial units (Chattopadhyaya 1983, 44). Beyond this, however, the socio-economic infra-structure of the early medieval polity is not discussed. Thus, while the model of integrative polity differs from the Indian Feudalism school on the question of the genesis of the fragmented, early medieval political order, it does not question its existence. The recognition that the centre could not enjoy the revenues of the territories held by the sāmantas amounts to at least a partial acquiescence in characterising the state as feudal. Kulke's stress, in his study on Orissa, is on the process of cultural integration through the media of religion and language, whereby the sub-regional and local cults were integrated at the regional level by the Jagannatha cult and the legends and traditions of the local, nuclear areas subsumed by the *Sthala Puranas* (Kulke 1982, 258–59). Such processes were operative in early medieval Karnataka as well; the difference here was the lack of any one cult acting as the superordinate regional integrator.

In conclusion, the feudal theory best fits the evidence from the early medieval period of southern Karnataka. A highly fragmented political set-up existed, wherein the king's authority was progressively eroded by means of perpetual grants made to religious or lay donees, who enjoyed land on permanent tenures and had the right to tax the cultivating tenant. In several regions they could also levy forced labour from the tenant population and could perhaps eject insubordinate tenants. A wide range of taxes were a charge on the populace, and their common rights were increasingly eroded by the grants of waste and forest lands that curtailed their rights of pasturage on these lands, and thus their means of livelihood. The political edifice was reared on the ideology of dedicated service, but the nature of service tenures weakened it: while the ethos of service was held up as the ideal, in actual practice feudatories tended to be independent,

acknowledging their overlord and cooperating with him only if it suited their interests or if the latter's military might was preponderant. Thus, whether feudalism is considered as being defined primarily as a mode of production characterised by a class of landlords extracting rent in cash, kind or labour from a subject peasantry, or as a political system defined by vassalage and fiefs, the applicability of the feudal mode of production to this region in the period under study cannot be denied.

Chapter V

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Jainism

Jainism in Karnataka was patronised on a large scale in the early medieval period. Rulers like Madhavavarman II Ganga and his son Avinita Ganga made lavish grants under the influence of their preceptors to Jaina temples in the first phase (AD 400–725). The rise in the popularity of Jainism was on account of changes within the religion itself.

By the opening centuries of the Christian era, Jainism had begun to develop Puranic forms of worship, and the period saw numerous Jaina Puranas being composed. The shift in ritual worship was not completely unexpected; the veneration of divinities such as the Nagas find mention even in early Jaina canonical works such as the *Nāyādhammakahāö.* Such worship involved, for instance, the offering of flowers to a deity (Hardy 1983, 30). The reverence of the images of the Jina was now enjoined as a pious duty, particularly for laymen. Thus, Samantabhadra, in his *Ratnakaraṇḍa Śrāvakācāra*, includes idol worship (Singh 1975, 23–25) among the vows adopted by Jaina laymen *(sāmāyika sikṣā vrata)*, which traditionally comprised of fasting, donating food, medicine and protection, the cultivation of equanimity *(śamatā)* and hospitality (Nagarajayya 1982, I.90). Similarly, the *Paümacariya* of Vimalasuri refers to the installation of images, their worship and the anointing *(abhiṣēka)* ritual. The *Paramātmaprakāśa* of Yogindudeva, datable to the sixth century AD, considers worship with eight articles as essential for liberation. Ravishena's Padma Purāṇam of the seventh century AD also exhorts the worship of the Jina for both temporal and spiritual benefits, and emphasises the use of flowers, incense and lamps in temples. Another seventh century work, the *Varāṅgacarita* of Jatasimhanandi, stresses the merit obtained by laymen through the building of temples, installation of images and the conduct

of Jina worship (Singh 1975, 23–25). The details of the abhiṣēka ritual are laid down in this work (Nandi 1973, 34–36), as also those for the morning and evening devotions in Jaina temples.

This advocacy of image worship was probably the result of a desire to popularise the faith. Originally, Jainism had stressed on the quest for salvation and enlightenment by means of a difficult regime of ascetic discipline to be followed by monks. This involved the acceptance of the five great vows *(pañcamahāvrata)* of truth *(satya)*, abstention from stealing *(asteya)*, chastity *(brahmacarya)*, nonviolence (ahiṁsā) and non-posssession of material wealth *(aparigraha)* to be applied without any exception throughout the remaining span of a monk's life (Jaini 1991, 37–38 fn. 9).[1] A regimen of wandering asceticism was also prescribed for monks: they were expected to seek shelter only during the four months of the rainy season. The monks could either follow the *jinakalpa* tradition of roaming as solitary ascetics *(ēkavihāri)* engaged in austerities independent of the ecclesiastical community, or become members of a monastic group *(sthavirakalpa)* studying scriptures under the supervision of the preceptors (acarya), to whom they were expected to be loyal and devoted (Jaini 1991, 101–02 fn. 35; Narasimhachar 1986, 137). The jinakalpa, as the path followed by Mahavira himself, was believed to be of superior value in all sects of Jainism; the literature of that period abounds in examples of monks engaged in austerities as solitary ascetics, following the rule of staying in a village for a night, in a town for five nights and in the forest for ten *(grāme ēka rātram nagare pañca rātram aṭavyām daśa rātram)* (Narasimhachar 1986, 116).

Laymen, too, were encouraged to accept the limited, minor vows called the *anuvrata*. These were nonviolence (ahiṁsā), chastity *(svadārāsantōṣa)*, truthfulness *(pusiyada)*, restraint on possession *(vishayangalol pambalisada)* and abstention from theft *(kalladure)* (Narasimhachar 1986, 57–66; Nagarajayya 1982, I.88). These anuvratas were the reduced versions of the monks' greater vows *(mahāvrata)*. The lay disciples who accepted them were encouraged to progressively widen the scope of these

[1] Perfection of the pañcamahāvratas is held as an ideal in Ponna's *Shāntipurāṇam* (Nagarajayya 1982, IX.111).

initial vows *(śrāvaka vrata)* through an eleven-stage path called *pratimā*, which eventually culminated in renunciation (Jaini 1991, 38 nn. 9, 13).

The advocacy of image worship as a means of acquiring merit both by laymen and monks certainly popularised Jainism and won material support for the faith from the highest echelons of the feudal aristocracy. It also, however, undermined the ascetic discipline enjoined upon the monks and the laity. The construction of shrines, their endowments, the installation of images and the institution of rituals became a major focus of attention for the laity. While records indicated that some of the laity were initiated to vows of ritual death, there is hardly any other evidence to show that they undertook to perform penances and austerities in general. In fact, in some cases, initiation to ritual death seems to have been of a purely symbolic nature.[2]

References to the construction and endowment of Jaina shrines in this region may be noted from the fifth century onwards. These Jaina shrines are denoted by the terms *chaitya* (Ramesh 1984, 152–54 no. 41), *cēdiya* (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 347; Narasimhacharya 1920, 23, 24), jinālaya (Gopal et al. 1972, 1: nos.1 and 96; Rice 1902, 5: Ak 209), jinagēha (Rice,1902, 7: Sh 114), jinabhavana (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ng 149), etc. In the second phase the term basadi (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Gu 92, Hg 63, etc.), the tadbhava form of vasati, meaning a dwelling place (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Basadi, Vasati*) became popular. This term was used to denote a Jaina temple with its associated monastery (Nandi 1973, 66). The change in terminology in itself demonstrated the tendency on the part of monks and nuns to settle down permanently in monasteries. Grants made for the maintenance of the shrines were entrusted to monks and sometimes to nuns as well, which seems paradoxical in view of their vow of non-possession (aparigraha).

New monastic groups emerged during this period, flouting other traditional rules of mendicant conduct such as the prohibition on bathing, the use of oil and perfumes, the eating

[2] As in the case of Indra IV Rashtrakuta (Gopal et al. 1973, 2: SB 163) and Mahāprabhu Govapayya (1976, 5: My 117).

of live gram, etc. Rebel orders, such as the Dravida Saṅgha, the Kastha and the Lata Bagad, were formed as a result of the transgression of such rules (Nandi 1973, 51). These new groups also began to practice Tantric worship of minor divinites such as Jvalamalini and Padmavati (Nandi 1973, 154). In this way the Jainas progressively lost their ascetic vigour, of which these developments were symptomatic. Consequently, while Jainism won the support of the sub-regional and regional powers such as the Gangas and the Rashtrakutas, it lost its popular base among the lower-ranking landlords, who began increasingly to patronise Shaivism from the tenth century onwards. Jainism was at the zenith of its influence at the close of the tenth century, but it was also imperceptibly beginning to decline. Another feature of the early medieval Jaina monastic order was the reduced size of the section units such as the gaṇa and gaccha, which consisted on an average of three to four members. This tended to strengthen the personal bonds between the preceptor and the disciples. Loyalty and devotion to the preceptors, a general feature of the monastic group, became even more pronounced; the guru came to be looked upon as the means of salvation for the disciples, and post-mortem memorials of the preceptors (niṣidhi) began to be worshipped. This was a reflection of the feudal ethos of the period: the loyalty and devotion of the disciple to his master had its counterpart in the loyalty and dedication of the servant (āḷ) toward his lord.

PATTERNS OF PATRONAGE

Sovereigns and High-ranking Feudatories: Several early Ganga inscriptions record grants of land and villages for Jaina shrines made by sovereigns. The earliest inscription to record such a grant are the Perur plates (Coimbatore taluk, Coimbatore district, Tamil Nadu) of Simhavarman of the Kaivara branch. Grants of land were made by Simhavarman for the Jaina shrine constructed at Perur at the request of the royal concubine Nandavva (Ramesh 1984, 479–82 no. 155). This indicates the faith of only Nandavva, for other extant records of this monarch register brahmadēya grants (Ramesh 1984, 23–26 no. 7, 483–86 no. 156).

The Nonamangala plates (Malur taluk, Kolar district) of Madhavavarman II and of his son Avinita Ganga of the Talakad

branch record grants of land and a village for Jaina shrines situated at Perbolal grāma and Uranur respectively, at the behest of their preceptors, ācāryas Viradeva and Vijayakirtti (Rice 1905, 10: Mr.73, 72). In both these cases the *Mula Saṅgha*, the principal Digambara church of South India, was the beneficiary. The Hosakote plates (Hosakote taluk, Bangalore district) of Avinita, however, record grants of land for the Jaina temple established by the mother of Pallavadhiraja Simhavishnu, which was affiliated to the Yavanika Saṅgha (Ramesh 1984, 48–51 no. 14)—identified by Ramesh as being identical with the Yapaniya Saṅgha (1984, 51).

These inscriptions indicate that the Jainas were well entrenched in the countryside. With the exception of the temple established at Perur by Nandavva, the remaining temples were situated in villages and received grants of land and whole villages from kings. This controverts Stein's view that Jainas and Buddhists were entrenched in urban centres in the early period, which led the brahmanas to seek the support of, and alliance with, the peasants (Stein 1980, 83).

There is not much evidence for early Ganga patronage of Jainism after Avinita Ganga. Durvinita appears to have been a staunch supporter of Vedic brahmanism, and all the extant records issued in his forty-year reign appear to have been for śrōtrīya brahmanas (Ramesh 1984, 66–103 nos. 18–25). His successors, too, appear to have followed the same policy.

It is only from the reign of Shivamara I Ganga that there is once again evidence of patronage extended to Jaina shrines. Thus, the Kulagana copper-plates (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) register grants of lands, gardens and a house site made by Pallavela-arasa, the ruler of Kodagur, and Oramkal and Sipalvoyga, the joint administrators of Tuppur, for the chaityālaya at Kellipusur (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 347). Similarly, the eighth-century Narasimharajapura plates (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district [?]) record grants to the chaityālaya at Tolla by Nagavarma Gangaraja of the Pasindi Ganga family, his brother-in-law Tuluga-adi of the Kadamba family and Manali Mane-oḍeya of Kosika lineage (Ramesh 1984, 253–56 no. 71). It is clear that these personages belonged to noted ruling lineages of the region and apparently enjoyed a high rank in the feudatory hierarchy, although the places ruled by them are not specified. Another set

of copper-plates from the reign of Shivamara II register grants from Vitta-arasa, the ruler of Sinda nāḍu and Tagare nāḍu, and Vijayshakti-arasa, the uncle *(māman)* of Shivamara II, for the chaityālayas at Tolla and Mulivalli respectively (Ramesh 1984, 274–75 no. 85, 276–77 no. 86).

While the above records register grants of land for already existing Jaina shrines, the Devarahalli copper plates (Nagamangala taluk, Mandya district) of AD 776 record the construction of a jinabhavana at Shripura at the instance of Kundacci, the queen of Paramagula Pṛthivī Nirggundarāja of Bana vaṁśa. At Paramagula's request, Shripurusha granted a village, lands and house sites for the shrine, which was called Lokatilaka (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ng 149). Likewise, the Manne plates (Nelamangala taluk, Bangalore district) of Yuvarāja Marasimha of AD 798 state that his subordinate, Sāmanta Sēnādhipati Shrivijaya, who had built many Jaina shrines, constructed an auspicious and lofty Jaina temple at Manya-nagara and made grants for its maintenance. The temple is said to have been constructed for Prabhachandra of the Kondakundanvaya order (Ramesh 1984, 190–205 no. 49).

The Devanur copper-plates (Nanjangud taluk, Mysore district) of Kambharaja Ranavaloka Rashtrakuta, dated AD 808, register the grant of Badaneguppe village in Punnada Edenadu viṣaya for the service of the Shrivijaya vasati consecrated *(pratiṣṭhitāyai)* at Talavana-nagara at the request of his son Sankaraganna (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 278). It is not clear whether the temple had also been constructed at Sankaraganna's instance; at all events, this Jaina shrine was patronised by him. Curiously, the Mercara copper-plates (Mercara taluk, Coorg district), which are spurious and assignable on palaeographic grounds to the ninth century, also record the grant of Badaneguppe village for the same Jaina shrine (Gopal et al. 1972, 1: 1–5 no. 1). The donor was a minister *(mantri)* of Akalavarsha Pṛthivivallabha, who had obtained the village by a grant from Avinita Ganga. It is possible that the Mercara plates were forged to legitimise the change of guard at the Shrivijaya vasati. While the temple trustee in the Devanur copper-plates was Vardhamana Guru of the Kondakundanvaya and the Sirmmalage gurugaṇa, the donee in the Mercara plates was Chandanandi Bhatara of the same order but of the Desiga gaṇa. In both these epigraphs the donors were high-ranking feudatories.

Several Ganga monarchs and members of the royal family actively patronised Jainism in the second phase by constructing basadis and making grants for their maintenance. Thus, a basadi was established by Rachamalla I at Vallimalai (in modern Tamil Nadu), a Jaina pilgrimage spot (Hultzch 1896–97, 140–41). From this record he would appear to have been a Jaina by faith, although the Perjjarangi grant charter (Krishnarajanagar taluk, Mysore district) describes him as a devotee of Vishnu (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: Kn 49, ll. 49–50). Nitimarga Ereyanga I and his son Butuga I are described as devout Jainas in the Kerehalli plates (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of Nitimarga Ereyanga II (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 354, ll. 49–50, 60). Rachamalla II granted the twelve hamlets of Bili-ur to Sarvanandi Bhatara for the maintenance of the Satyavakya jinālaya built at Pennekadanga in AD 888 (Gopal et al. 1972, 1: 59–60 no. 96). This shrine was evidently constructed at the instance of Rachamalla himself, who bore the title of Satyavakya. Rachamalla II and his nephew Ereyanga II, who were joint rulers, also granted one sollage of white rice, forced labour and clarified butter for the Kella basadi, constructed by Chagi Permānaḍi at the end of the ninth century (Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Ppu 16). Similarly, the Koligere inscription (Maddur taluk, Mandya district) of AD 916–17 records that Ereyanga II, the reigning king, consented to the grant of the proceeds of the revenue from Tippeyur to the basadi constructed at the holy location (tīrtha) of Kanakagiri by Manaleyara (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Mu 100). Although the social status of Chagi Permānaḍi and Manaleyara cannot be discerned, the support extended by the reigning Ganga kings to Jaina institutions in this period is indubitable.

Butuga II and his successors were staunch Jainas. Butuga is described as a devout Jaina, in the Kudlur plates (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) of Marasimha II (Ramesh 1984, 411–32 no. 138). Marasimha II is said to have erected basadis and small entrance pillars *(mānastambha)* at various places before relinquishing sovereignty and observing the vow of ritual death under the supervision of Ajitasena Bhattaraka at Bankapura (Gopal et al. 1973, 2: SB 64). His mother Kallabbe constructed a shrine with an accompanying monastery, for which Marasimha granted the village of Kadalur in Komgal dēśa (Ramesh 1984, 433–48 no. 139). Butuga's sister, Pambabbe, the queen of his feudatory,

Immadi Paḍiyaṟa Dhorappayya, is said to have taken the vows of a nun and practised penance for thirty years before inviting death (Rice 1901, 6: Kd 1). Marasimha II's sister, Kundanasomidevi, the queen of Rajaditya of Chalukya vaṁśa, commissioned an image of the Jina (Rice 1902, 5: Mj 67).

Other notable patrons of Jainism in this period were Chavundaraya and his son, Jinadevana. Chavundaraya, the vassal of Marasimha II and Rachamalla IV, had erected the Gommata colossus on the big hill at Shravanabelgola in c. AD 983 (Gopal et al. 1973, 2: SB 272–73). The Chavundaraya basadi on the smaller hill next to it is also credited to him (Gopal et al. 1973, 2: SB 151), but Gopal et al. are of the opinion that the characters of this record belong to a later period (1973, 2: lxxv). The inscription on the pedestal of the image of Parshvanatha enshrined in the basadi states that a Jaina temple was constructed at Belagola by Jinadevana, the son of Chavundaraya and the lay disciple *(guḍḍa)* of Ajitasena Bhattaraka (Gopal et al. 1973, 2: SB 150); based on this evidence, the editors attribute the shrine to Jinadevana. Later additions to the Chavundaraya basadi were made in the twelfth century by Ecana, the son of Gangaraja, at which time the temple itself was attributed to Chavundaraya. S. Settar, too, assigns the Chavundaraya basadi to the early eleventh century, and is of the view that it was constructed by someone else in Chavundaraya's memory. The image in the sanctum sanctorum *(garbhagṛha)* of this basadi had originally belonged to the Trailokyaranjana or Boppana chaityālaya, which had been built by Gangaraja's son Ecana in the twelfth century (Settar 1967, 107). Apart from erecting monuments, Chavundaraya is also the author of the *Triṣaṣṭilakṣaṇa Mahāpurāṇam*, a Kannada prose work that narrates the lives of the sixty-three eminent proponents *(śalākapuruṣa)* of Jainism (Kulkarni 1975, 452).

Ranna's patroness, Attimabbe, was also a munificent champion of Jainism. She is said to have commissioned more than 1,500 images of the Jina and constructed countless basadis of the Sahasrakuta order. She also dedicated golden lamps and jewel-encrusted archways or portals *(tōraṇa)* for the Jina (Sannayya and Gowda 1988, I.57–59). She inspired Ranna to compose the *Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇam* (Sannayya and Gowda 1988, I.77), while her father Mallappayya, and his younger brother, Ponnamayya, requested Ponna to compose the *Shāntipurāṇam*

in honour of their deceased guru, Jinachandra Muni of the Kanur gaṇa (Nagarajayya 1982, I.50–51).

It is thus clear that princes and high-ranking feudatories actively participated in the construction of Jaina shrines. This was in accordance with the injunction of the Puranas, wherein construction of jinālayas and grants for their maintenance were recommended as a pious duty for princes (Kulkarni 1975, 211). This was also in keeping with the resources of these individuals, who hailed from the highest echelons of the feudal aristocracy.

Gāvuṇḍas, Śeṭṭis and Petty Landlords: One of the earliest instances of a low-ranking feudatory supporting Jainism comes from the Kulagana plates (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of Shivamara I Ganga, which record grants of land by Oramkal and Sipalvoyga, the joint administrators of Tuppur, for the chaityālaya at Kellipusur (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 347). The Hebbalaguppe inscription (Heggadedevanakote taluk, Mysore district) of the ninth century registers the grant of six khaṇḍugas of land each from Narasigere-appa and Goyyindammagal for the basadi constructed for Duggamara by Narayana Peruntaccan (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 63). While the precise rank of these donors cannot be discerned, they were clearly landholders. Some tenth-century inscriptions from Hangal (Gundlupet taluk, Mysore district) record that Chikka Jogabbe, the wife of Sarvalokasraya, commissioned a metallic Chauvisa Tirthankara image, four lamp-stands and ten small utensils for the worship of the Jinas (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Gu 203–205). Once again, the precise social standing of Chikka Jogabbe cannot be determined, but the plural suffix to her name would indicate a respectable social position.

The Bandalike inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 919–20 mentions one Jakiyabbe, who is said to have displayed devotion to the path or doctrine of the Jina *(jinaśāsana bhakti)*. The grant of a four mattar field registered in the epigraph (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 219), however, may not have been for a Jaina shrine; the inscription employs the term *dēvāra* to denote the temple in question. This term is usually taken to denote a Hindu shrine, whereas Jaina temples are normally called chaityālaya or basadi. The Bandalike inscription goes on to record Jakiyabbe's renunciation and the acceptance of the vow (nontu), probably of ritual death, with courage and devotion at the basadi at Bandalike.

Another Jaina devotee of indeterminate origins who had a temple constructed was Lokkiyabbe of Pombuccha. This temple (jinagēha) was situated at the town of Kombasi and received several grants for the bathing of the idol (jinābhiṣēka) from gauḍas and śeṭṭis in the mid-tenth century (Rice 1902, 7: Sh 114).

Prime material support to Jainism came from higher-ranking feudatories and sovereigns. Lower-ranking feudatories, such as the gāvuṇḍas and petty landlords, were not much involved in the construction and endowment of shrines. This could not have been due to a lack of material capacity, since these classes were seen to be actively constructing Shaiva shrines, particularly in the tenth century. However, many of the lay disciples who were initiated into vows of ritual death were drawn from among lower-ranking feudatories, landlords and merchants. Several Jaina votaries are recorded as having invited death by the acceptance of ritual vows such as samādhi maraṇa or sanyasana. An inscription of the tenth century records one such death, that of Dejebbe, the daughter of Bhandarada Badavayya and the disciple of Chandrabhajinendra (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: Kn 74). Bhandarada Badavayya was probably the Officer-in-Charge of the treasury, which made this lady the daughter of an official. An inscription from Chikka Hanasoge (Krishnarajanagar taluk, Mysore district) records the death of Jakkiyabbe, the wife of Nagakumara, who in turn is described as a devotee of the Jina *(jinabhakta)* and a warrior *(subhata)* (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: Kn 34). Similarly an inscription from Ankanathapura (Hole Narsipur taluk, Hassan district) of the tenth century records the death of Chamakkabbegal, the mother of Dadiga Śeṭṭiyar and Devaradasayya (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: HN 62).

It is interesting to note that in literary works, too, the majority of those depicted as seeking release from the world by inviting death through the rite of sanyasana were drawn from the aristocracy or the prosperous mercantile community. Settar observes that literary references to commoners having been admitted to sanyasana were an exception. Repeated rebirths were considered the consequence of accumulated karma, which, in turn, depended on the social order into which a person was reborn. It was not possible to realise the fruits of a pious death without improving social status and shedding karma. In this connection he cites a passage from the *Chāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇam*,

which explicitly excludes artisans and other low caste groups from being initiated into the sanyasana rite (Settar 1990, 251).

The Jainas were thus as much bound by the caste system as the Hindus. The Ankanathapura memorial of Chamakkabbegal referred to above describes her sons as the supports of the four-caste system *(cāturvarṇa)* and the Sravana Saṅgha (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: HN 62). Such a mindset is brought out by literary works as well: in Pampa's *Ādipurāṇam*, Adinatha is credited with the creation of the kshatriya, vaishya and sudra varṇas (Narasimha Sastri 1980, VIII.64 vacana), while his son, the first Cakravarti Bharata, creates the brahmana varṇa (1980: XV.6–12). Adi Tirthankara also forbids miscegnation (varṇa saṁkara). This theme is repeated in other works as well: thus, in Ponna's *Shāntipurāṇam*, Satyabhama, the daughter of a *rajapurohita*, is unknowingly married to Kapila, the son of a brahmana by his house slave (toḷtu). When she realises this, she seeks the king's protection from her husband, exhorting him to perform his duty in protecting the caste order (varṇāśramadharma). King Shrisena, a devout Jaina, accedes to her request and drives out Kapila from his kingdom (Nagarajayya 1982, VII.65 vacana). This narration indicates that the Jainas, too, attached great importance to the maintenance of the varṇāśramadharma. The description of the evils of the *kali yuga* in the *Vaḍḍārādhane* includes miscegnation and brahmanas taking to unworthy deeds as its characteristic features (Narasimhachar 1986, 131). This shows that the Jainas abhorred miscegnation as much as the brahmana authors of the Hindu law-books *(dharmaśāstra)* did.

In sum, Jainism derived its support for most part from the ruling classes and members of the upper castes, whether in the construction and endowment of temples or in the performance of the vows of ritual death. Lower-ranking feudatories and landlords did not support Jainism in large numbers, appearing mostly to have supported Shaivism, particularly in the tenth century.

Women: The evidence reviewed above clearly reveals the popularity of Jainism among women from the earliest period. Even in the first phase, women like the royal concubine Nandavva and the mother of Pallavadhiraja Simhavishnu took the lead in the construction and endowment of Jaina shrines. In the second phase the contributions of Kundacci, Attimabbe and the princesses and queens of the Ganga royal family may be recollected.

There is also occasional mention of the queens of staunch Shaiva princes supporting Jainism. Thus, the Varakodu niṣidhi (Mysore taluk, Mysore district) commemorates the death of Pittabbe, the queen of Durga, by the acceptance of a ritual vow (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 129). The Durga mentioned in this tenth-century inscription was probably the same Mahāsāmanta Durga Chalukya, whose grant of a village and other lands to the Buteshvara temple is recorded in a tenth century epigraph from Varuna (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 169). If so, it is interesting to observe that while the Mahāsāmanta patronised Shaivism, his queen was a Jaina by faith. Similarly, the Nolamba Mahendradhiraja was a staunch Shaiva but his queens, Bija(ya) Mahādevi, Parama Mahādevi, Akkabbe and Dombabbe, made grants of land for a basadi in their capacity as fief-holders in the last quarter of the ninth century (Rice 1904, 12: Si 24).

Nandi relates the popularity of Jainism among women to the doctrinal changes introduced by the schismatic Yapaniya order, and later adopted by the orthodox Digambaras as well, which advocated the salvation of women in this birth (Nandi 1973, 60). While the Yapaniyas undeniably held that nuns could attain mōkṣa in this very life, since the only prerequisite for that was perfection of the the three cardinal dicta *(triratna)* of Right View *(samyagdarśana)*, Right Knowledge *(samyagjñāna)* and Right Conduct *(samyagcāritrya)*, in which women were not deficient even according to the scriptures (Jaini 1991, 49), the Digambaras held firmly to their view that women could not perfect the three virtues. This, in their opinion, was due to the fact that nudity, one of the prerequisites of mōkṣa, was forbidden to women. More fundamentally, they held that the bodies of women engender subtle life forms as a consequence of which nuns could not perfect the vow of ahiṁsā.[3] The Digambara view is also put forward in the vernacular Jaina works composed in the tenth century, namely, the *Vaḍḍārādhane*, Pampa's *Ādipurāṇam*, Ponna's *Shāntipurāṇam*, Ranna's Ajita *Tīrthakara Purāṇam*, and the *Chāvuṇḍarāya*

[3] This view was first enunciated by the Digambara Ācārya Kundakunda (c. AD 150), but was elaborated upon later by Prabhachandra in the *Nyāyakumudacandra* and Ācārya Jayasena in the *Tātparyavṛtti* in the early eleventh century (Jaini 1991, 34–35).

Purāṇam. Thus, in the *Chāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇam*, Sita explains rebirth in the form of a woman as a consequence of sin (Kulkarni 1975, 302), while in the *Vaḍḍārādhane*, such rebirth is described as a consequence of wrong views, knowledge and conduct *(mithyatva)* (Narasimhachar 1986, 69).

In all these works, women are never protrayed as achieving mōkṣa without first being reborn as a man. Nandi's contention that the Digambaras, too, later adopted the Yapaniya view on the salvation of women is thus unacceptable. He bases this on the mistaken premise that the fruits of voluntary ritual death by starvation *(sallēkhana)* was believed to be nothing less than salvation, and that there is mention of numerous nuns whose death by performance of this vow is commemorated in the records of the period (Nandi 1973, 60). However, voluntary ritual death did not automatically lead to salvation even for men in the Digambara conception: thus, in Ponna's *Shāntipurāṇam*, Megharatha, who shuffled off his mortal coil observing the rite of *prāyōpagamana*, was reborn as a consequence of the merit thus acquired in the heaven of Sarvarthasiddhi. Descending from there he was reborn as Shantinatha (Nagarajayya 1982, IX.118–19).

The Yapaniyas had only a limited presence in southern Karnataka, being based primarily in the districts of Belgaum, Dharwad and Gulbarga in the north of the region, while the Digambara Mula Saṅgha and its sub-divisions held sway in the south. In view of this, the appeal of Jainism to women is inexplicable; it can only be presumed that its doctrine that the soul could be freed from its karmic bondage through one's own efforts was more attractive to them than that of the rival Pasupata-Kalamukha's, which held that almighty Shiva could ignore human karma altogether, acting as an absolutist potentate on whose grace humans were abjectly dependent for mōkṣa (Lorenzen 1972, 173).

THE JAINA PANTHEON

The Jainas primarily worshipped the twenty-four Tirthankaras, whose images were consecrated for worship in temples. Earlier scholars such as A. N. Upadhye, Sinclair Stevenson and others had held that the Jaina motive in worship was not to receive boons or favours from the deity but to meditate on him as a

model in order to obtain perfection. However, R. B. P. Singh points out that a study of Jaina literature, particularly of the early medieval period, would make it clear that a major motive of worship was the expectation of both temporal and spiritual benefits. Jaina deities were considered dispensers of grace in the same manner as the Hindu deities. He cites the Jaina *Harivaṁśa Purāṇam*, which states that release from worldly afflictions, the attainment of worldly ends and release from the influence of evil spirits could be obtained by means of the worship of the Jinas. Similarly, the *Mahāpurāṇam* of Jinasena and Gunabhadra states that those desirous of wealth, freedom from bondage and disease should worship the Jina (Singh 1975, 28–32). Pampa, too, recommends the worship of the Jina when afflicted by a maddened elephant, a poisonous snake, a fire, an enemy, thieves or a spirit. The adoration of the Jinas is also said to bestow the status of a world conqueror *(cakravarti)* and all the pleasures in this world and the next on the worshipper (Narasimha Sastri 1980, XVI.8–9).

The Tirthankaras were even identified with Hindu gods. Thus, Ravishena identifies Adinatha with Shiva and Svayambhu, while Jinasena describes him as Brahma, Vishnu and Svayambhu (Singh 1975, 30–31). The Jainas had earlier criticised the Hindu theory of creation and destruction of the universe, but there was a change in their view of cosmogony by the early medieval period: now, the Jinas were assigned both creative and destructive powers. Thus, Adinatha is spoken of as the creator and destroyer of the universe in the *Mahāpurāṇam* of Jinasena and Gunabhadra (Singh 1975, 30). Similarly, Adinatha is repeatedly described as Adi Brahma in Pampa's *Ādipurāṇam* (Narasimha Sastri 1980, VIII.66 vacana; XV.23). In another context, the Tirthankaras are generally identified with Vishnu, Shiva and Brahma (Narasimha Sastri 1980, XVI.6).

The worship of the Five Preceptors *(pañcaparamēṣṭhin)* was closely related to the worship of the Tirthankaras. The pañca-paramēṣṭhins constitute a group of five graded, purified souls: these are the Arhat or Jina, who was ommiscient and endowed with superhuman qualities, the *Siddha* who had realised perfection, the Ācārya or guide who regulated the social order in accordance with Jaina precepts, the *Upādhyāya* or preceptor who had mastered the sacred lore and the Sādhu or monk bent on salvation and engaged in austerities (Singh 1975, 32–33).

The Jaina Puranas of the period under study commence with salutations to the pañcaparamēṣṭhins (Narasimha Sastri 1980, I.1–6; Nagarajayya 1982, I.1–5; Sannayya and Gowda 1988, I.1–5). This invocation was termed *pañcanamaskāra*, *pañcapada*, *pañcākṣarapada* or *namaskāramantra*, and was recommended to the laity for overcoming the mundane problems of daily life as well as to the monks seeking final liberation (Settar 1986,106–08). Thus, the *Chāvuṇḍaraya Purāṇam* mentions two instances when the recitation of the pañcanamaskāra proved efficacious in rescuing devout laywomen disciples *(śrāvikā)* from critical situations (Kulkarni 1975, 57, 306). Recitation of the pañcapadas was also recommended to those seeking death as a means of attaining mōkṣa (Settar 1986, 107), by concentrating the mind on the pañcanamaskāras while shuffling off the mortal coil.

Another associated practice was the worship of the footprints of spiritual teachers, which were engraved on stone. Thus, the Bhadrabahu cave at Shravanabelgola enshrines the footprints of Bhadrabahu, who is said to have spent his last days there. It was originally a rock shelter, to which the western wall and southern porch were subsequently added (Settar 1967, 173). An eleventh-century inscription on the western wall states that Jinachandra bowed to the feet of Bhadrabahusvami (Gopal et al. 1973, 2: SB 251). It is difficult to accurately date the Bhadrabahu cave (Settar 1967, 173; Gopal et al. 1973, 2: lxxv), but it is possible that it predated the eleventh century, since two inscriptions from the Mandya district of the early tenth century state that Kalbappu was blessed with the imprints of the feet of Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta (Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Sr 85, Ppu 16). That the practice of reverencing the footprints of teachers dates back to at least the tenth century is also brought out by an inscription compiled by P. B. Desai, which refers to the carving of footprints of Jatasimhanandi by Chavaya (Desai 1957, 20).

The practice of worshipping footprints was not restricted to Jainism alone; the Buddhists in the early period of their religion worshipped the Buddha's footprints, as the Buddha was initially represented only by such symbols (Bhattacharji 1970, 286–87). There was already a tendency among the Vaishnavas in the period under study to relate the worship of the natural hollows and fetishes on hills and rocks to the myth of Trivikrama. However, in the opinion of Jaiswal, the practice of dedicating footprints

as an object of worship and of erecting shrines over them was essentially of Buddhist origin (Jaiswal 1982, 249–50); the Jaina practice was probably influenced by the Buddhist and Vaishnava parallels.

Apart from the worship of the Tirthankaras and the eminent preceptors, the worship of the family members of the Tirthankaras, particularly of Bahubali, the son of Adinatha, became popular in Karnataka. This was especially so after the erection of the Gommata colossus on the big hill at Shravanabelgola by Chavundaraya. Singh assigns this cult to brahmanical influence; the sons of the Jina were thus worshipped in the same manner as the sons of Shiva were worshipped by Hindus (Singh 1975, 35).

The *Chāvuṇḍrāya Purāṇam* states that the mothers of the Tirthankaras *(jinajanani)* were also worshipped, particularly by laywomen. The worship by the laity of Vaishravana, the keeper of the celestial treasure, for acquiring moral or religious merit *(puṇya)*, of Dharanendra for acquiring sons, and of Shridevi for warding off the influence of evil deities *(vairi dēvategaḷ)* is also attested to in this work (Kulkarni 1975, 221–22). In the *Vaḍḍārādhane*, Shriyadevata is propitiated by queen Ila Mahādevi for sons after a temple to her is erected in the city. Shriyadevata consults Svayamprabha Tirthankara, who tells her that a god would soon descend from heaven and be born as a son to Ila Mahādevi. That child, when born, was named Siridinna, the gift of Shriyadevata (Narasimhachar 1986, 152).

Apart from these subordinate deities, *yakṣas* and *yakṣis*, who were originally attendants of the Jinas, came to be worshipped as independent deities in the early medieval period. Thus, in the seventh-century Meguti temple at Aihole, Ambika, the female attendant (yakṣi) of Neminatha, who should have been placed on his left waiting on him, is shown independently (Singh 1975, 51–52). Likewise, the male attendant (yakṣa), Sarvahna, is extolled as the conferror of boons on those who have the capacity to attain enlightenment in the future *(bhavya)*, and is described as the crusher of enemies and the guide of the ardent to supernatural powers (siddhi). His images were installed and worshipped in the majority of the Jaina basadis from the seventh to the twelfth centuries AD. One of the earliest such images, ascribable to the eighth or ninth century AD, is found in the vestibule of the Chandragupta basadi at Shravanabelgola. Images of this yakṣa also

replaced Jina images on the tops of entrance pillars (mānastambha) (Settar 1971, 31).

The compositions of the *Jvālinī Kalpa* and the *Bhairava Padmāvatī Kalpa* of the ninth and tenth centuries show that Jvalamalini and Padmavati became the foci of emerging Tantric cults. Jvalamalini was the yakṣi of the eighth Tirthankara, Chandraprabha, in Digambara works. She was an awe-inspiring goddess, depicted with flames issuing forth from her head and holding a bow, a shield, an arrow, a sword, a discus *(cakra)* and other weapons in her eight arms and riding a subdued buffalo (Settar 1969, 314; Nandi 1973, 153). Settar has noted the parallels in Buddhist and Hindu iconolatry: a similar goddess, Ekajata, also known as Vidyujjvalakarali in one of her forms, was introduced to Buddhism under Tantric influence, while in the Hindu *Kaula Tantra*, a goddess, Jvalamalini, is included in the list of the sixteen *nityas* (forms or names of the goddess Durga in the Tantric texts) (Settar 1969, 308). The Tantric cult of this goddess among the Digambara Jainas was inculcated by Elacharya or Helacharya, the leader of the Dravida Saṅgha and a native of Malaya Hemagrama village, after he invoked the aid of the goddess to exorcise an evil demon *(brahmarākṣasa)*, who had possessed a female disciple named Kamalashri. The goddess was said to have dwelt on the summit of the Nilagiri Hill. Settar identifies the village Malaya Hemagrama with Ponnur in the North Arcot district of Tamil Nadu, while the Nilagiri Hill was either the Nilagiri range in the Western Ghats or a hill near Ponnur (Settar 1969, 309). Nandi, on the other hand, has identified Malaya Hemagrama with Maleyur in the Chamrajanagar taluk of Mysore district, which was famous in the early medieval period as Kanakagiri tīrtha, a Jaina centre of some importance (Nandi 1973, 154). It is probable that Elacharya's influence on the Digambara Jainas led to the immense popularity of the Tantric cult of Jvalamalini. The cult was systematised by Indranandi, whose *Jvālinī Kalpa* was completed by AD 939 at Manyakheta, the Rashtrakuta capital. The earliest independent images of Jvalamalini at Aihole date back to the eighth century (Settar 1969, 310). Interestingly, however, the image of the yakṣi at the Chandraprabha basadi at Shravanabelgola is not that of Jvalamalini (Settar 1969, 310). The cult of Jvalamalini rose to greater eminence only after the period under study; from the twelfth century

onwards there are epigraphic references to independent temples dedicated to this deity (Settar 1969, 310).

Padmavati, the yakṣi of the twenty-third Jina, Parshvanatha, was also the focus of a Tantric cult that was systematised by the eleventh century, when the *Bhairava Padmāvatī Kalpa* was composed. In Nandi's view, the Jaina goddess was derived from the Hindu Puranic goddess Padmavati, who was a consort of Vishnu. This suggestion gains strength from the fact that Padmavati and the yakṣa Dharanendra of the Jina Parshvanatha are both depicted with seven-hooded snakes over their heads—an attribute of Vishnu as Anantasayin (Nandi 1973, 155–56).

The yakṣi Padmavati also figures in the account of the origin of the Gangas in the Shimoga inscriptions (Rice 1902, 7: Sh 4, 64; 1904, 8: Nr 35). She is said to have favoured Madhavavarman with a sword for breaking a stone pillar. However, although earlier records mention the breaking of the stone pillar by Konganivarman, the association of the goddess Padmavati with this legend occurs only in the Shimoga records of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is therefore difficult to ascribe as early a date as the fourth century AD to her cult. Shantara records of a later period ascribe the construction of a temple to Padmavati or Lokiyabbe at Patti Pombucchapura by the founder of the dynasty, Jinadattaraya, who is dated to the tenth century (Singh 1975, 54–55). If so, the worship of this yakṣi as an independent deity in Karnataka dates back to at least the tenth century. The Kanatur inscription (Alur taluk, Hassan district) of AD 1025 refers to a hill chieftain, Maleparāditya Permādi, who is described as the obtainer of a boon from the goddess Padmavati (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Al 8). This would indicate that the cult was fairly popular in this region by the first quarter of the eleventh century.

The rise of the cults of Jaina yakṣis was a reflection of the general trend of a growth in the popularity of mother-goddess cults in the early medieval period (Sharma 1974, 181; Chattopadhyaya 1994a, 31–33). This trend may be traced to the influence of the aboriginal tribes in marginal areas, which were in the process of being assimilated into the caste-based society of the early medieval period; their cults of the mother-goddesses, whether at the tribal level or the intermediate village level, were then absorbed by both the Jainas and the Hindus.

A closely related factor in the expansion of mainstream religion was the rise in the popularity of Tantrism in this period. Sharma points out that some of the Tantric texts were clearly associated with particular tribes, and almost all of them were composed in the outlying tribal areas. Many of the Tantric practices were thus influenced by the primitive religious observances of the aboriginal tribes. He suggests that the mystic diagrams *(yantra)*, the sacred circles (cakra) of the Shaktas and the different rituals related to the drawing of the mystic circle *(maṇḍala krama)* of Tantric worshippers possibly represented the continuation of the worship of stone tools and weapons as cult objects, which were often associated with fertility rites. Similarly, sexual rites formed an important part of aboriginal rituals for promoting the fertility of the earth (Sharma 1974, 178–79). Tantrism, with its various magic rituals for the fulfilment of temporal and spiritual ends, gained tremendous popularity in this period and effectively permeated Buddhism, Shaivism, Vaishnavism and Jainism.

In Jainism, Tirthankaras could not act as agents for the purpose of occult practices; they occupied a presidential position in the hierarchy, somewhat akin to the position of the Buddha in the Sinhalese Buddhist pantheon. Gananath Obeyesekere observes that this supreme position of the Buddha had two aspects: first, that all other deities and even demons in the divine hierarchy derived their power from the Buddha, and second, that the Buddha was not perceived as a deity in the conventional sense—as an interceder on behalf of humans, bringing them prosperity or punishing them for transgressions (Obeyesekere 1963, 139–53). Although the Jaina Tirthankaras came to be looked upon as bestowers of boons and favours in the early medieval period, they were perceived, as in the case of the Buddha, as being too remote for the ordinary layman. It was also understood, as the story of Shriyadevata in the *Vaḍḍārādhane* illustrates, that the subordinate deities derived their authority from the Jinas. (Narasimhachar 1986, 152). Thus, Jainism needed a category of subordinate deities who could act as agents for occult practices such as exorcism *(abhicara)*, subjugation *(vaśīkaraṇa)*, and stupefaction *(stambhana)*. Deities such as Shriyadevata or her consort, Saudharmendra, could not be invoked for this purpose, though they could be propitiated for boons, since these deities

were sufficiently elevated on the ladder of salvation and were future Jinas.[4] The yakṣis, particularly such fierce mother-goddesses as Jvalamalini who were derived from the aboriginal mother goddesses, were well suited for this purpose.

THE JAINA TEMPLE

The Jaina temples were generally smaller and simpler than the Hindu temples. Nandi observes that the structural growth of the Hindu temple was related to an inflated ritual, a large pantheon and a wide functional base. The sanctum (garbhagṛha), a vestibule (sukhanāsi) the assembly hall *(sabhā maṇḍapa)* and the dance hall *(nātya maṇḍapa)* were added to the temple structure as a corollary of ritual requirements, while numerous smaller shrines were added to the main temple to house attendant or related deities of the principal god. Jaina basadis rarely reached such grand proportions as it ran counter to the Jaina ideal of simplicity and humility (Nandi 1984, 39).

Although the worship of attendant deities became popular among Jainas in the early medieval period, this does not appear to have led to the architectural elaboration of basadis apart from the replacement of Jina figures by that of Sarvahna yakṣa on top of the mānastambhas (Settar 1971, 31–32). No additional structures appear to have been added to house the yakṣas and yakṣis; rather, these images of attendant deities were also placed in the vestibule of the basadi (Settar 1971, 32).

Hindu temples were also distinguished by narrative sculptural friezes illustrating episodes from the epics and the Puranas. Such illustrations do not characterise the Jaina shrines, whose sculptural panels depict friezes of floral bands. The wall niches at the Panchakuta basadi at Kambadahalli (Mandya district) are surmounted by tōraṇas with floral motifs and of flying divine creatures *(gandharva)* or sea-monsters *(makara)* ridden by yakṣas. The niches themselves were occupied by the Tirthankaras (Krishna 1939, 44–46).

[4] In Sinhalese Buddhism, guardian deities who are considered as future Buddhas are propitiated for boons, but unlike demons are said not to cause possession (Obeyesekere 1987, 13).

The rare exception to this is provided by the perforated screens at the Chandragupta basadi at Shravanabelgola, which are believed to depict scenes connected with the lives of Chandragupta Maurya and Bhadrabahu (Settar 1967, 174–76). However, these screens as well as the beautifully sculpted door jambs were added to the original ninth-century structure by a sculptor named Dasoja in the twelfth century (Settar 1967, 102).

THE JAINA MONASTIC ORDER

Monks: Monastic discipline among the Digamabara Jainas had originally been very strict. The monks had to discard their clothes as part of their vow of non-possession (aparigraha) (Nagarajayya 1982, VIII.129 vacana). Neither were they even permitted an alms bowl; *pāṇipātra* (palms used as a bowl for receiving alms) is a distinctive feature of a Digambara monk (Jaini 1991, 34, 36 fn. 4). The monks were allowed to eat and drink only once a day, for which they had to visit a Jaina household, whether rich or poor, and if offered, were to accept food that they had to consume standing, off their palms. A path of roving asceticism was also prescribed, and monks were permitted to take shelter only during the rainy season. The regimen of penance ideally to be followed by a monk is described by Ponna in his account of Megharatha Muni, who was reborn as Shantinatha. After studying the scriptures under the guidance of Ghanaratha Tirthankara, Megharatha Muni set out as a solitary ascetic (ēkavihāri); adopted various religious austerities *(tapa)* such as the *anaśana tapa* (mortification of the flesh by fasting), the *avamodarya tapa* (meditation on knowledge derivable from bodily processes [?]), the *vṛtti parisaṅkhyāna tapa* (meditation on the knowledge acquired through the senses), the *rasapariyāga tapa* (abandonment of all liquids), the *viviktāsana tapa* (penance in a spot not inhabited by animals, women or hermaphrodites), the *kāyaklēśa tapa* (exposing the body to inclement weather with total indifference), and conquered the twenty-two hardships experienced by the body *(parīṣaha)* of hunger, thirst, heat, etc. He practised the six penances of perfecting expiation *(prāyaścitta)*, humility *(vinaya)*, service *(vaiyāvṛtya)*, study *(svādhyāya)* and meditation *(dhyāna)* in the standing *(kāyōtsarga)* posture (Nagarajayya 1982, IX.105–108). He meditated on the twelve essential principles *(anuprēkṣa)* such as transience *(anityatva)*, the influx of karmic

matter into the soul *(āsrava)*, prevention of further extraneous influx *(samvara)*, the dissociation of the soul from the accumulated karmic matter *(nirjara)*, etc. (Nagarajayya 1982, 542, q.v. *Anuprēkṣa*), and perfected the three cardinal dicta of Jainism (triratna), foremost among which is mercy and forgiveness. By his faultless observance of the pañcamahāvratas, the five kinds of precautions against harming living beings *(pañcasamiti)* (Nagarajayya 1982, 544, q.v. *Pañcasamiti*) and vigilance over the three modes of action – the mind, speech and body *(trigupti)* – he achieved that equanimity by which he was alike indifferent to friend or foe, honour or dishonour. By practising these penances he became emaciated and acquired the seven supernatural powers (ṛddhi). He visited numerous chaityālayas by means of his power of roaming through the air on an astral plane *(cārana)*. He thus acquired the merit by means of which he was first born in the Sarvarthasiddhi heaven and thereafter as a Tirthankara (Nagarajayya 1982, IX.110–13, 117). A similar account is given by Ranna in his *Ajita Tīrthakara Purānam*, in which he describes the penances and observances undertaken by Vimalavahana Muni, the future Ajitanatha (Sannayya and Gowda 1988, III.1–2 vacana).

While the early medieval Jaina works continued to uphold and commend these ancient ideals, epigraphic evidence indicates that Jaina monks were gradually giving up the practice of roving asceticism and taking to settled life in this period. They were also often entrusted with grants for temples, which appears paradoxical in view of their vow of non-possession (aparigraha).

Despite this, however, there is also evidence to suggest that some monks did continue the ancient practice of wandering asceticism. An early fifth-century inscription of Ravivarman Kadamba provided for the feeding of Yapaniya monks during the rainy season (Fleet 1877a, 25–27); these monks were apparently not attached to any one place. Similarly, a tenth-century tomb record from Chikka Hanasoge (Krishnarajanagar taluk, Mysore district) mentions a monk, Kalneledeva, who is described as a *jaṅgama tīrtha* (a moving pilgrimage spot, as opposed to a *gommaṭa tīrtha*, which was stationary *(sthāvara)* (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: Kn 36). The description of the monk as a jaṅgama tīrtha might imply that he followed the rule of wandering asceticism.

The trend of growing laxity in ascetic discipline is noticeable in the records from Shravanabelgola. Settar observes that between

the seventh and ninth centuries, the monks and nuns who came to Shravanabelgola in pursuit of death followed a rigorous ascetic discipline; they do not appear to have possessed more than the wooden bowl and peacock feather allowed to them. They did not aspire for a regular lay following, and shunned attachment to any one place. Their main quest clearly was for personal salvation. During and after the tenth century, however, the monks at Shravanabelgola appear to have given up the rule of roving asceticism and attracted the laity closer to themselves with the concomitant patronage to the basadis, for which they acted as managers (Settar 1986, 155–56).

This transition appears to have taken place even earlier outside Shravanabelgola. The grants made by the early Ganga rulers were, in all but one instance, entrusted to monks of the Mula Saṅgha. Thus, from as early as the fifth century, some monks appear to have settled down permanently in a temple. By the eighth century this practice had become common, as temple worship gained in importance.

S. J. Tambaiah has hypothesised that newly founded kingdoms in Thailand tended to patronise ascetic forest-monk fraternities, since they served as an effective counter-weight to the already established monasteries in villages and towns that were not of their creation. They preferred to sponsor new ordination lineages of forest monks, whose pure, ascetic practices could attract lay attention and support. The sponsorship of such forest-monk fraternities served another purpose as well: such monasteries were usually situated on forest edges or frontiers of advancing settlements, and could act as elite carriers of civilisation. They could also act as the foci of the collective religious activities and moral sentiments of the frontier settlements (Tambaiah 1984, 168).

It is not clear how far this is applicable to the Jaina monastic establishments of the region under study. As seen earlier, Jaina literary works upheld the ascetic practices of wandering monks. In literary works, kings and other members of the laity bestowed on such monks the gifts of utensils *(pātra dāna)* (Nagarajayya 1982, V.67 vacana; Narasimhachar 1986, 208, etc.), food *(āhāra dāna)* (Nagarajayya 1982, VI.73) and medicine *(auṣadhi dānā)* (Narasimhachar 1986, 161). There is no mention in these works of monks receiving grants of land and villages for temples,

although such grants were recommended for the laity as a pious duty in other literary works (Kulkarni 1975, 211). However, the inscriptions reveal incidences of monks and nuns settling down permanently and receiving grants of land and villages from royalty. It cannot be discerned whether these temples and monastic establishments were located in frontier regions and whether kings sponsored new establishments in preference to already existing monastic groups.

It is possible that such a shift in patronage gave an additional fillip to the proliferation of the Jaina saṅgha. Nandi relates this proliferation to the doctrinal differences that arose among the various groups. For example, the Yapaniyas introduced certain doctrinal changes such as the advocacy of salvation of women *(strīmōkṣa)* and the resumption of meditation in spite of a break from it *(chēdopasthāpana)* in relation to women (Nandi 1973, 60). Following the breakaway by the Yapaniyas, there are references to several new monastic groups in the Digambara Mula Saṅgha from the eighth century onwards, such as the Pogariya gaṇa, the Surastha gaṇa, the Dravida Saṅgha and the Nandi Saṅgha. A later tradition ascribed the origin of these new groups to the splitting of the Mula Saṅgha by the sage Arthabali into the Deva, Nandi, Sena and Simha sub-divisions, in order to minimise hatred and other evils (Nandi 1973, 47–49). Such an act would point to the revival of schismatic pressures within the Mula Saṅgha. Some of these new groups, such as the Sena Saṅgha, had migrated from the Rajshahi district of Bangladesh to Mysore, where they were then affiliated to the parent church, the Mula Saṅgha (Nandi 1973, 49). The Dravida Saṅgha and the Kastha Saṅgha had evolved out of a rebellion by a section of monks against particular ritual proscriptions, such as the ban on bathing, the use of oil and perfumes and the eating of live gram (Nandi 1973, 57–58). Additionally, some of these new groups also sponsored the Tantric cult of the yakṣis, a move that clearly illustrates the loosening of the moral fibre among the Jaina monks.

Thus, while kings in Thailand seem to have turned to forest monks in order to revive the ascetic tradition, the patronage of the laity in the region under study usually extended to those monastic groups who propagated newer practices such as settling down permanently, Tantric worship and the propitiation of malevolent deities (Luders 1896–97, 338–49).

An important aspect of the Jaina monastic organisation in this period was the reduced size of many monastic orders, which feature seems to give the impression of a great deal of sectarian proliferation. Even as new groups emerged, their unit of organisation was the gaṇa or gaccha, which consisted on an average of only three members. The preceptors in these gaṇas became all-powerful; the increased importance of these newly emergent gurus may have been the reason why the Mula Saṅgha gradually splintered into small units. The preceptor, the ācārya, was now responsible for the welfare of the gaṇa's members and was expected to be an able administrator, in addition to possessing the requisite academic qualifications. He came to be considered as the means of the final deliverance of his disciples (Nandi 1973, 70–71). Thus, Ranna in his *Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇam* pays homage to his guru, who, he says, vouchsafed the fulfilment of his desires *(emagiṣṭa siddhiyaṁ dorekoḷisuttuṁ)* (Sannayya and Gowda 1988, I.7). Likewise, Ponna devotes thirteen verses to the praise of his guru, Jinachandra, who is finally described as the hero of the work *(kritināyaka)*, in effect identifying him with Jina Shantinatha himself (Nagarajayya 1982, I.25–37). Similarly, Chavundaraya eulogises his preceptor Ajitasena Munindra thus: "he removes the stain of karma and awakens the spirit of those close to him *[āptavarga]*, he astonishes rival disputants and secures the goddess of liberation *[mōkṣalakṣmi]* to those desiring it. O Bhavya, worship the lotus feet of Ajitasena Munindra with a pure mind" (Kulkarni 1975, 4, verse 19). Pampa pays homage to such celebrated ācāryas of the Kondakundanvaya order as Samantabhadra, Kavi Paramesthi, Pujyapada, Griddhrapincchacharya, Jatasimhanandi, Srutakirti, Maladhari Munishvara, Devendra Muni and Jayanandi Muni (Narasimha Sastri 1980, II.14). The last-mentioned individual was probably Pampa's preceptor.

The guru was thus considered by his disciples as the means of their deliverance. He guided the disciple, whether a monk or a layman *(śrāvaka)*, to the right path to salvation. The guru initiated the lay disciples (guḍḍa or *guḍḍi*) to the vows recommended for them (śrāvaka vrata) (Narasimhachar 1986, 55–57; Nagarajayya 1982, I.87), and later into the order (Narasimhachar 1986, 123). When the disciple desired to invite death, the consent of the guru was indispensable (Settar 1986, 153). The preceptor then guided the disciple, whether ecclesiastical (śramaṇa) or lay (śrāvaka),

through to the successful completion of the vow (Narasimhachar 1986, 126–27).

The adoration of the preceptor grew into a cult in itself. Thus, memorial stones were erected in honour of preceptors by lay and ecclesiastical disciples. One such instance is provided by the inscription from Chikka Hanasoge (Krishnarajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century, which commemorates the ritual vow of Elacharya of Ennekula, who subsisted on water for a month, observed the five vows and died by voluntary ritual death (samādhi maraṇa) (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: Kn 35). The tomb record was set up by his disciple, Kalneledeva. Between the seventh and the ninth centuries, many monks and nuns chose to end their lives by accepting the ritual vows of samādhi maraṇa or sanyasana on the small hill at Shravanabelgola. Numerous tomb records on the rocks here commemorate their death, but in the majority of the cases the names of the persons who set up these records are not inscribed (Gopal et al. 1973, 2: 1, 2, 14, 15, 16, etc.)

Nuns: The order of nuns (*āryikā* or *kanti*) was inferior to that of the monks in all sections of Jainism. It was held that a newly ordained monk was superior to a nun of longstanding tenure and was worthy of respect from her. The ultimate authority in the case of nuns was a male figure in the office of ācaryā, and a propagator or initiator *(pravartinī)*, or a head of a nuns' community *(gaṇinī)*, who otherwise headed the order of nuns, was subordinate to him (Deo 1954, 501).

Nuns were not permitted to adopt nudity, even among the Digambaras, on grounds of their physical liabilities. This was the principal reason why the Digambaras, for whom nudity was an essential prerequisite for release from the cycle of rebirth, denied the ability of nuns to attain mōkṣa in the same birth (Deo 1954, 497). The inferior status of nuns was also reflected in the fact that they were not permitted to study certain texts. Even among the Shvetambaras, the texts *Dṛṣṭivāda*, *Mahāparijña* and *Aruṇopāpatra* were denied to the nuns. *Dṛṣṭivāda* contained information on spells; the nuns were not allowed to study these since women were considered to be of fickle nature and lacking in fortitude (Deo 1954, 492). Similarly, among the Digambaras, books attributed to the direct disciples of the Tirthankaras (gaṇadhara), mendicants who attained omniscience without the

direct aid of a teacher *(pratyekabuddha)*, mendicants who had mastered the entire Jaina canon including the *Pūrvas* and the *Aṅgas (śrutakēvalin)* and the tenets propounded by the knowledge-holders of the ten *Pūrvas* (an ancient, now extinct part of the Jaina canon) were to be studied only by the monks.

The subordination of the nuns to the ācāryas is indicated in inscriptions as well. An early seventh-century tomb record from Shravanabelgola (Channarayapatna taluk, Hassan district) mentions the death of Nagamati Ganti, a Jaina nun who was the disciple of Moni Guruvadigal (Gopal et al. 1973, 2: SB 23). A tenth-century tomb record at Ankanathapura (Hole Narsipur taluk, Hassan district) refers to the death of Deviyabbe Kanti, the disciple of Prabhachandra Siddhanta Bhatara (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: HN 10). The Kadur pillar inscription (Kadur taluk, Chikmagalur district) of AD 971 records the death of Pambabbe Kantiyar, the elder sister of Butuga II Ganga, who was said to belong to Desiya gaṇa of the Kondakundanvaya (Mula Saṅgha) order. She was the disciple of Nanabbe Kantiyar and Abhayanandi Pandita Bhatara (Rice 1901, 6: Kd 1).

In some cases, however, only the gaṇa affiliation of a nun is specified, with no mention of her preceptors. Rajnimati Gantiyar of the Aji gaṇa of the Navilur Saṅgha (Gopal et al. 1973, 2: SB 112), Anantamati Gantiyar (1973, 2: SB 113), Prabhavati āryikā and Amitamati āryikā (1973, 2: SB 132), all belonging to the Navilur Saṅgha, were some of the nuns so commemorated. Several seventh-century epitaphs on the small hill at Shravanabelgola commemorate the death by observance of a ritual vow of nuns of the Navilur Saṅgha. The preceptors in all these cases are not mentioned. A tenth-century tomb record at Siddaganahalli (Kadur taluk, Chikmagalur district) commemorates Balamba Kanti of the Navilur Saṅgha (Rice 1901, 6: Kd 159). Once again, no preceptor is mentioned. Such records appear to be the convention of the Navilur Saṅgha, since the majority of the monks of this monastic order also did not mention their preceptor.[5] Similarly, the Kolattur Saṅgha also does not appear to have the convention of acknowledging its guru in the epitaphs (Gopal et al. 1973, 2: SB 108, 111).

[5] Gopal et al. 1973, 2: SB 117, 118, 123, 124. The only exception is SB 121, which commemorates the death of Vrishabhanandi, the disciple of Mauni Ācārya of Navilur Saṅgha.

Although nuns thus appear to have been subordinate to monks in the Jaina monastic order, there is some evidence of them being independently entrusted with land grants for basadis, in effect vesting them with the management of temples and their estates. The Narasapur plates (Kolar taluk, Kolar district) of AD 902–903 provide one such instance: gifts for a basadi constructed at Kannamangala by Ayyamma Denandakar were entrusted to Kamungare Kantiyar, the female disciple of Mandala Bhatara of Uttanindipura, who in turn was the disciple of Kadahura Bhatara (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 90). The Lakshmidevihalli inscription (Arsikere taluk, Hassan district) of the tenth century registers a grant of land for the Biduga jinālaya by Maraka, which was entrusted to Paramabbe Kanti (Rice 1902, 5: Ak 209). In at least one case a nun appears to have had a layman as her disciple: this was Makabbe Kantiyar, whose epitaph was set up by Bica Gāvuṇḍa of Madiba as part of the post-mortem rites *(parōkṣa vinaya)* in AD 1013 (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Hs 3).

Thus, although P. S. Jaini is right in holding that the vows of the *uttama śrāvikā* nuns[6] were bestowed the grace of the Great Vow *(mahāvrata)* only as a matter of courtesy, since they were considered incapable of achieving salvation in the same birth owing to the mental and physical liabilities peculiar to their sex (Jaini 1991, 39 fn. 14, 34–35, 120–34, 141–46), in practice, nuns enjoyed considerable influence. This was, perhaps, a consequence of the patronage extended to the Digambaras by aristocratic women, many of whom took vows as nuns. The pre-eminence of women in the political sphere in the second phase was thus reflected in their enhanced status in the ecclesiastical organisation as well.

JAINA RITUALS AND OBSERVANCES

Temple Rituals: There are very few epigraphic references to specific Jaina temple rituals. This deficiency, however, is made up by literary works, which provide fairly detailed descriptions of rituals. The most complete description is provided by Pampa's

[6] Literally, fine laywomen. For the Digambaras, the nuns were at best fine laywomen; they could never rise to the level of the monks in meditation and mortification.

Ādipurāṇam and the *Chāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇam*. These works mention several important rites of worship *(mahāpūjā)* offered by different classes of the laity. Thus, rulers (cakravarti) are said to organise the *kalpadruma mahāmaha*, and great chiefs *(mahāmaṇḍalika)* and chief princes *(makuṭabaddhar)* the *caturmukha mahāmaha*. The ruler of half a province *(ardhamaṇḍalika)* offered the *sarvatobhadra mahāmaha*, while the various lords of the heavens in the Jaina cosmogony *(indra)* offered the *aindradhvaja* (Narasimha Sastri 1980, XV.13 vacana). The details of these various mahāpūjas are not given, but it is interesting to note that the rituals mirror the feudatory hierarchy prevalent in the early medieval period. There is no detailed information on the *aṣṭāhnīka mahāmaha* that all classes of the laity were expected to offer.

The aṣṭāhnīka pūjā was the major festival of the Jainas. It was celebrated over the last eight days of the months of Ashadha, Karttika and Phalguna and thus coincided with the summer, autumn, and winter harvests (Nandi 1973, 37). The rite was also known as the *nandīshvara dvīpa*. There is a reference to the special rites of worship of Arhad Bhattaraka during the *phālguna nandīshvara* in the story of Siridinna Bhatara in the *Vaḍḍārādhane*, (Narasimhachar 1986, 150). Likewise, the *Shāṇtipurāṇam* of Ponna advocates the performance of nandīshvara dvīpa and other major pujas as a means of obtaining merit. Accordingly, Shrideva, who in a later birth became Shantinatha Tirthankara, institutionalised the aṣṭāhnīka pūjā (Nagarajayya 1982, VII.31vacana).

One of the earliest references to the performance of the aṣṭāhnīka pūjā occurs in the Halsi charter (Khanapur taluk, Belgaum district) of Ravivarman Kadamba in the early fifth century, which makes provision for the performance of this ritual every year in the month of Karttika (Fleet 1877b, 27–29). Similarly, the Peggur inscription (Virajpet taluk, Coorg district) of AD 978, which registers the grant of Posavadaga and Peggadur for the maintenance of the basadi at Peggadur, mentions the phālguna nandīshvara. The grant was made on the last day *(tale divasa)* of the festival (Gopal et al. 1972, 1: 61 no. 98). An eight-day fast *(aṣṭōpavāsa)*, worship *(arcanā)* and idol-bathing rituals (abhiṣēka) appear to have been the major features of the aṣṭāhnīka pūjā, as indicated by the performance of these rites by Vinayamati, a śrāvikā in the *Vaḍḍārādhane* (Narasimhachar 1986, 151).

While these were special festivals sponsored by the wealthier members of the laity, the daily ritual consisted of offerings of water to wash the feet *(pādya)*, sandalwood paste *(gandha)*, consecrated raw rice *(akṣata)*, incense *(dhūpa)*, lamp *(dīpa)* and fruit *(phala)*, and the bathing of the image *(snapana, abhiṣēka)* with ghee *(ghṛta)*, milk *(kṣīra)*, tender coconut water *(nāḷikēra tōya)*, mango juice *(āmra rasa)* sugarcane juice *(ikṣu rasa)* and diluted sandal paste *(gandhōdaka)* thrice a day (Narasimha Sastri 1980, XV.13 vacana).

The *Chāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇam* advocates the offering of sandalwood paste (gandha), flowers *(puṣpa)*, consecrated raw rice (akṣatā), etc., to the Jinas by the laity (Kulkarni 1975, 211). A common motif in Jaina stories is that of a maiden visiting the temple with articles of worship on completing a fast. After duly worshipping the image and saluting the ascetics resident there, the girl returns home to offer the objects sanctified by worship to her parents, who, noting her youthful form, deliberate on a suitable match for her. Thus, in the story of Sukausalasvami, Sukesini, the daughter of Nagadatta Śeṭṭi, visits the Sahasrakuta jinālaya with objects of worship after observing the vow (nontu) of the eighth day of a fortnight *(aṣṭami)*. There she is noticed by the king, Gandhabhajana, who later seeks her hand in marriage. Returning home from the basadi, Sukesini offers the sanctified remnants *(siddha sēse)* to her parents (Narasimhachar 1986, 77). Similarly, in the story of Karttika Rishi, the six daughters of King Agniraja of Krittikapura observe the fast during the phālguna nandīśvara and then visit a basadi with objects of worship, salute the ascetics and deities, accept fresh vows and then return home to offer the sanctified articles (siddha sēse) to their parents (Narasimhachar 1986, 159). In Ponna's *Shāntipurāṇam*, Svayamprabha, the princess of Rathanupuracakravala observes the Jaina vow of a fast on *shrīpañcamī*, goes to the Siddhakuta (abode of saints who have achieved salvation) and has the ritual of the bathing of the idol performed (jinābhiṣēka). Returning home, she offers the sanctified remnants (siddha sēse) to her parents and brother (Nagarajayya 1982, V.18). These accounts indicate that it was a common practice among lay devotees, particularly women, to carry objects of worship from home, offer them to the Jina and return home with them as enjoined in the *Chāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇam*.

The bathing of the deity (abhiṣēka) ritual formed a central part of the majority of the rites concerning Jina worship. It has been seen that it formed a part of the aṣṭāhnīka pūjā as well as the daily ritual in Jaina temples. In its most developed form, it was a festival in itself. This aspect of the aṣṭāhnīka pūjā is reflected in the *Varāṅgacarita*, which describes the ritual in great detail (Nandi 1973, 34–36). At its simplest, the rite involved ablutions of the image of the Arhat by the śrāvaka himself, as was done by Shrideva in the *Shāntipurāṇam* (Nagarajayya 1982, VII.30). Alternatively, the śrāvaka or śrāvikā could incorporate the ritual at a shrine, as was done by Princess Svayamprabha (Nagarajayya 1982, V.18) or King Gandhabhajana, who instituted it at, among other places, the Sahasrakuta jinālaya that was commissioned by him (Narasimhachar 1986, 76). The Kumasi grāma inscription (Shimoga taluk, Shimoga district) of c. AD 950, which records the construction of a jinagēha at the instance of Lokkiyabbe of Pombuccha, also registers grants for the bathing of the Jina by certain gauḍas and seṭṭis (Rice 1902, 7: Sh 114).

Ritual Staff in Jaina Temples: The inscriptions under study are not very informative as to who officiated as priests in Jaina temples. They merely mention the Jaina monks who were entrusted with the management of shrines. However, the *Ādipurāṇam*, in describing the creation of the brahmana varṇa by Bharata, lays down that worship (pūja); the right means of livelihood *(vārtā)*, which included bearing arms *(asi)*, wielding the pen *(masi)* and practicing agriculture (kṛṣi), commerce *(vanigvidya)* and craftmanship (śilpa); various kinds of donations *(datti)*; study (svādhyayā), which included teaching the scriptures (ṣāstrā) to others; the observance of the five lesser vows *(pañcāṇuvrata)* and other pledges *(samyama)*; and fasts and other forms of penance (tapa) were the established duties of their caste *(kulācāra)* for the brahmanas (Narasimha Sastri 1980, XV.13 vacana). It could thus be presumed that brahmanas were the officiating priests at the Jaina temples as well. This presumption is supported by the *Chāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇam*, which states that brahmanas were invited to officiate at all ceremonies, such as the *garbhadana kriya*, the lipi *samkhyāna kriyā*, etc., required to be performed during the life span of a man (Kulkarni 1975, 213ff).

Paul Dundas has observed that the Digambaras of South India in the modern period employ priests designated as *upadhye*, who carry out pūjā involving the decoration and anointment of the image. In contrast, the lay devotees among the Shvetambaras conduct such ceremonies themselves, and temple servants called *pūjāris* are employed merely to clear up after a ritual. He notes further that worship with eight articles *(dravya pūjā)* is the prerogative of the laity only. The ascetics are debarred from direct contact with the image because of their physical impurity, having abandoned the normal social activity of washing; they confine themselves to inner worship or contemplation *(bhāva pūjā)* (Dundas 1990, 175–76).

While the epigraphical sources of the period under study do mention worship conducted by the lay devotees in person, the context appears to be of a domestic shrine and not a temple. An impression is gained that ritual specialists were employed in temples, probably the Jaina brahmanas. The ban on worship using ritual articles (dravya pūjā) by ascetics, though not clearly mentioned, appears to be borne out indirectly by inscriptions never mentioning a monk or nun engaged in ritual activities of this kind.

Neither epigraphic nor literary sources provide any further information on the ritual staff of the Jaina temples. Chennakka Yeligar is of the opinion, on the basis of an inscription from Manne, that Jaina temples, too, employed courtesans *(dēva sūḷe)* (Yeligar 1980, 86); this, if at all so, was a later development, for none of the inscriptions of the period AD 400–1000 refer to prostitutes in association with basadis.

Vedic Brahmanism

THE FIRST PHASE

The first phase of the period under study (c. AD 400–725) was marked by royal patronage extended to brahmanas well-versed in Vedic lore. This was the case not only with the Gangas but also with their contemporaries the Kadambas, the Pallavas and, a little later, the Badami Chalukyas as well. The influence of Vedic brahmanism in this phase was all pervasive; it can be seen not only in the patronage of śrōtrīya brāhmaṇas but also in the claims

to gōtra affiliations by royal dynasties, and in the performance of Vedic sacrifices and rites such as the aśvamēdha and the hiraṇyagarbha.

The brahmanas who received land grants in the first phase are identified in the inscriptions in terms of their gōtra affiliation as well as the specific branch of Vedic lore in which they specialised. Thus, the Bendiganahalli copper plates (Hoskote taluk, Bangalore district) of Krishnavarman Ganga of the Kaivara branch record the grant of Karu-ura as a brahmadēya to Matri Sharman of the Rathitara gōtra and Taittiriya caraṇa (Ramesh 1984, 15–18 no. 5), while the Bangalore copper-plates (Bangalore taluk, Bangalore district) of the same monarch record the grant of Kudiliyam grāma to the six sons of Bhuti Sharman of Varakya gōtra and Chandogya caraṇa (1984, 19–22 no. 6). Similarly, Divakara Sharman, the donee of the Chaluvanahalli copper-plates (Kolar taluk, Kolar district) of Madhavavarman II Ganga (Talakad branch) is said to belong to the Vatsa gōtra and Vajasaneyi *śākha* (Ramesh 1984, 487–89 no. 157). The Kutalur grant (Gubbi taluk, Tumkur district) of Madhavavarman (Paruvi branch) registers the gift of a village to Kumara Sharman and Bhava Sharman of Kaushika gōtra and Taittiriya caraṇa (Ramesh 1984, 10–14 no. 4, ll. 10–11). The Kudagere copper-plates (Sagar taluk, Shimoga district) of Vijaya Shiva Mandhatrivarman, from the close of the fourth century (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 29), record the grant of twenty nivarttanas of wet land to Deva Sharman of Kaundinya gōtra and Dattanuyoga, who is described as a Taittiriya *brahmacāri*. The Kadagattur plates (Maddagiri taluk, Tumkur district) of the fourth regnal year of Durvinita record the grant of Tipperu village in Peruka bhōgā and Vanne viṣaya to Skanda Sharman of Bharadvaja gōtra, Taittiriya caraṇa and Apastambha *sūtra*. This brahmana is further described as knowing the meanings of the Vedic hymns and sacrificial formulae *(mantra)*, aphoristic rules (sūtra) and the essence of the sacred precepts, as being well-versed in the six auxiliary branches of Vedic study and as being engaged only in the practice of his prescribed duty to his caste (dharma) (Ramesh 1984, 75–79 no. 20, ll. 38–43). Sena Sharman and his son, the beneficiaries of the Nallalam grant charter (Sidlaghatta taluk, Kolar district) of the same monarch, belonged to the Bharadvaja gōtra, Taittiriya caraṇa and Pravacana kalpa (Ramesh 1984, 99–103 no. 25).

Some charters describe the grantees as "adept at self-control, religious austerity and penance, in study and teaching, performing and conducting sacrifices, pronouncing blessings and curses". Such a description occurs in the Chukuttur grant charter (Sidlaghatta taluk, Kolar district) of Simhavarman of the Kaivara branch, which records the gift of Chukuttur grāma to seventy-four brahmanas, some of whom are identified by name and gōtra affiliation (Ramesh 1984, 23–26 no. 7, ll. 11–12). The seventy-four brahmana donees of the Kodunjeruvu charter (Sidlaghatta taluk, Kolar district) of Avinita Ganga are also described thus (Ramesh 1984, 52–55 no. 15, ll. 28–34).

Some inscriptions go further and describe the brahmana grantees as "incessantly drinking soma juice" and "well-versed in the lore of performing sacrifices". One such description occurs in the Gummareddipura plates (Srinivaspur taluk, Kolar district) of Durvinita (Ramesh 1984, 94–98 no. 24, ll. 28–34). The performance of various sacrificial rites (*hōma* and yajña) by brahmanas in agrahāras is also borne out by the *Pampa Bhārata*, wherein Pampa's ancestor, Madhava Somayaji, an inhabitant of Vengipalu with its associated agrahāras of Vasantakotturu, Nidugundi and Vikramapura, is said to have performed numerous sacrifices, notably the sarvakratu yajña (Anantharangachar 1977, XIV.40–44).

Such rituals were, by and large, commissioned by kings, particularly those of obscure origins as a means of validating their power. Thus, Krishnavarman II Kadamba is said to have been anointed by the waters of the aśvamedha sacrifice (Ramesh 1984, 52–55 no. 15, ll. 14–15). Similarly, Durvinita Ganga is said to have performed numerous special sacrifices every year, and to have been blessed by the waters of a great sacrifice, the hiraṇyagarbha (Ramesh 1984, 99–103 no. 25, l. 32). While the kings secured legitimacy of their power by the rituals performed by the brahmanas, the latter secured large grants of land which elevated them to the position of a landowning elite class. In this capacity they also helped in the acculturation of the backward tribes and peasants, who in South India do not seem to have been exposed to a state structure. Both kings and brahmanas thus mutually benefited from each other.

THE SECOND PHASE (AD 725–1030)

Patronage of the srōtrīya brahmanas continued in the early part of the second phase, and was in particular a feature of the reign of Shripurusha Ganga. Thereafter, royal and aristocratic patronage to the vaidika brahmanas declined significantly. The brahmanas adjusted to the new situation by entering the services of the various ruling lineages as administrators and military vassals. As a powerful section of the landed artistocracy, they also patronised the Puranic Hindu cults of Shiva, Vishnu and the mother-goddesses. In many cases they were entrusted with temple management as well.

Among the śrōtrīya brahmanas who received grants of land and villages in the second phase is Sakkhare Sharman, a performer of the Soma sacrifice (sōmayāji) who received Attigundur grāma from Shripurusha Ganga in the eighth century (Rice 1905, 9: Nl 33). Similarly, the Javali plates of AD 750–51 record the grant of Belpur village to 120 brahmanas who were well-versed in the four branches of learning, masters of the Vedas and Vedāṅgas and knew well the conventions of the Hindu law-books *(dharmaśāstra)* (Ramesh 1984, 162–67 no. 43). The donor, once again, was Shripurusha, whose other instances of brahmadēya grants have been enumerated earlier in this book.

The patronage of srōtrīya brahmanas was continued by Yuvarāja Marasimha, the son of Shivamara II, who granted the village Tipperur as brahmadēya to Ponnadi, the Oḍeya of Arppola, at the request of Nayadhira, the son of Kolliya-arasa Kali Nōḷambādhirāja (Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Sr 66). However, while the Ganjam copper-plates (Srirangapatna taluk, Mandya district) specify Ponnadi's gōtra, his expertise in Vedic study is not clearly mentioned, although he appears to have been the chief of an agrahāra. The Kottimba grant (Sidlaghatta taluk, Kolar district) of Yuvarāja Marasimha in AD 799 also registers a brahmadēya grant of a village: the donee was Shridhara of Bharadvaja gōtra, who is described as a performer of sacrifices (Ramesh 1984, 206–16 no. 50).

The Perjjarangi charter (Krishnarajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of AD 819, from the first regnal year of Rachamalla I, offers another

instance of a second-phase grant to a śrōtrīya brahmana. The donee was Nagadeva Bhatta, who was "deeply versed in the Ṛgveda, his mind solely bent on doing good to others, and engaged in serving gods and brahmanas". His father, Tadangutti Somayaji Bhatta, was skilled in the performance of all sacrifices and is described as "ever-tasting the Soma juice" (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: Kn 49).

On the other hand, Shivaryya, a brahmana of Kaushika gōtra and the beneficiary of the Gattavadi plates (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of AD 904, is described merely as "of pure character, free from sin, worthy of worship, having fully realised the three objects of human desire, in policy like Brihaspati, and a skilful pilot in steering the ship, the kingdom of the Gangas" (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 402). His forefathers belonged to the Vishvamitraghamarshana sub-division *(pravara)* and had migrated to Tanagundur in Vanavasi viṣaya from Ahicchatra. His grandfather, Dhivama Shridhara, is eulogised as "being well-versed in the whole meaning of the three Vedas". Thus, while Shivaryya hailed from a śrōtrīya brahmana family, he appears to have served the Ganga king as an administrator. If the beneficiary of the Kerehalli plates (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 354), also Shivaryya by name, was identical with the donee of the Gattavadi plates, then it would suggest that the brahmanas served ruling lineages in multiple capacities: as priests, as participation in the coronation of Nitimarga Ereyanga II implies (1975: Ch 354, l. 77); as military vassals, as reference to the maintenance of a thousand elephants indicates (1975, 4: Ch 354, l. 76); and as royal counsellors, as the Gattavadi plates attest (1974, 3: Nj 402).

Another instance of a royal counsellor of brahmana descent being granted a village comes from the Kudlur plates (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) of Marasimha II of AD 962–63. The grantee was Vadighanghala Bhatta of Parashara gōtra and Chalukivadicha caraṇa. Like Shivaryya, his forbears, too, had migrated from the north, from Pippala agrahāra in Varata dēśa. Like Shivaryya again, Vadighanghala Bhatta's father was apparently a warrior, since he is described as "the delighter of the lord of the Varata country with his fierce valour" (Ramesh 1984, 411–32 no. 138, verse 39). Vadighanghala Bhatta himself was an advisor to Krishna III Rashtrakuta, and is said to have won the esteem of all his feudatory chiefs (maṇḍalika, sāmanta). The difference between Shivaryya

and Vadighanghala Bhatta lies in the fact that the latter was a Jaina preceptor as well. In this respect he resembles Pampa in the pride he felt in both his brahmana descent and Jaina faith (Anantharangachar 1977, XIV.50, 59). Vadighanghala Bhatta received from Marasimha II the gift of Bagiyur village, which carried an income of twenty gadyāṇas in cash and twelve khaṇḍugas in grain. This gift appears to have been in appreciation of his services as a counsellor, and was not meant for a Jaina shrine. In contrast, the Kadalur grant (Dharwad taluk, Dharwad district) of the same monarch, dated AD 962, is expressly stated to have been made for the purpose of facilitating the conduct of worship at a Jaina temple (Ramesh 1984, 433–48 no. 139). The gift of Bagiyur to Vadighanghala Bhatta may be more aptly likened to the gift of Dharmapura agrahāra to Pampa by Arikesari as a reward for his services as a poet and a warrior (Anantharangachar 1977, XIV.50).

Brahmana participation in administration was not a new phenomenon; indeed, the appointment of high-ranking śrōtrīya brahmanas to high administrative and military posts is recommended in such texts as the *Manusmṛti*, the *Agni Purāṇam* and the *Matsya Purāṇam* (Jaiswal 1979–80, 25). But in the first phase, however, the Vedic credentials of such brahmanas were deemed essential, as the Keregalur plates (Hassan taluk, Hassan district) demonstrate (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Hn 10). In the second phase, the personal qualifications of the individual brahmana in government service seem not to be as important as the fact that they came from śrōtrīya brahmana families. With decreasing patronage to Vedic brahmanism in this period, it was perhaps sufficient for brahmanas entering government service to emphasise their lineage—as coming from śrōtrīya brahmana families already enjoying superior rights to land in an agrahāra. Their having studied the Vedas was possibly not as important now as it had been earlier.

Indeed, it is interesting to note that even the Kukkanur plates (Yelburga taluk, Raichur district) of Marasimha II of AD 968–69 (Ramesh 1984, 494–513 no. 159), which record the brahmadēya grant of a village to a brahmana who was apparently not in government service, do not specify his Vedic qualifications. This may be partly due to the fact that the donor, Kundanasami, the sister of Marasimha II, was Jaina by faith, and thus specialisation

in Vedic study was not considered of any import. The omission could also be a reflection of the existing situation, wherein Vedic brahmanism was declining, and temple-based Puranic cults were at the height of their popularity.

Nevertheless, private donations to brahmanas continued to be made throughout the second phase. Thus, the ninth-century Ghatamaranahalli inscription (Sidlaghatta taluk, Kolar district) records grants by Pallava Nolamba-arasa for the feeding of brahmanas by the jana (Mahājana [?]) (Krishna 1929, 103 no. 36). Likewise, the Shivarapattana inscription (Kolar taluk, Kolar district) of AD 925 records a cash gift of sixteen gadyāṇas from Nagavayya and Kondayya, the sons of Tombuvayya, for feeding two brahmanas (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 9). The gift was received by the Mahājanas of Mendimangala. Similarly, the Kaisodi hero-stone (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 951–52 records a gift of gold to the Mahājanas of Tagarati by the hero, Bellangara Dasavarma, prior to his death (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 570). Likewise, the Belagi inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 964 records the gift of fifty-five gold (poṇ) gadyāṇas to the Mahājanas of Elase by Koteyamma of Gosahasram (Krishna 1929, 150 no. 78). The Uttanur inscription (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district) of AD 968 records the gift of a hundred gadyāṇas to the Mahājanas of Uttanur for the purpose of feeding five brahmanas. The donor was Nolamba Śeṭṭi (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 122).

Thus, although royal and aristocratic patronage to the śrōtrīya brahmanas declined over a period of time during the second phase of the period under study, private grants to the Mahājanas of agrahāras as expressions of piety continued.

INTERFUSION OF VEDIC AND PURANIC ELEMENTS

There is some evidence from the first phase of śrōtrīya brahmana participation in Puranic forms of worship. Several early Ganga rulers are described as devotees of particular Hindu deities. Thus, Vishnugopa is said to have meditated at the feet of Narayana, while his son Madhava II, was a worshipper of Tryambaka (Rice 1905, 10: Mr 73). Similarly, Durvinita is said to have meditated at the feet of Kamalodara (Vishnu) in the Bangalore Museum plates (Rice 1905, 9: Bn 141), while his Penna-ur grant incription (Hosakote taluk, Bangalore district) states that his inner soul

was purified by his obeisance to the goddess Katyayani (Krishna 1932, 131–43, l. 37). Nandi has suggested that in this period, the worship of Hindu deities was conducted in private chapels serviced by orthodox śrōtrīya brahmanas, since the practice of regular temple worship was as yet undeveloped (Nandi 1986, 79). Such a conclusion would posit the involvement of śrōtrīya brahmanas as priests for important lineages in Puranic forms of worship.

However, some inscriptions from the Shimoga district do indicate the existence of temples in as early as the fourth century AD, if not earlier. The Malavalli inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) of Shivaskandavarman Kadamba of the late third century records a re-grant of several villages that had fallen into disuse for the deity Mattapattideva (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 264). The inscription was inscribed on an eight-sided pillar at Malavalli (Krishna 1941, 36), which also bore an inscription by Vinhukadda Cutukulananda Satakarni for the same deity (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 263). The temple itself is no longer in existence, but it was apparently a recipient of royal patronage at least from the period of the late Satavahanas onwards.

Similarly, the Talagunda pillar inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) of the late fourth century AD mentions the temple of Mahadeva situated in the Sthanagundur agrahāra, which was said to have been patronised by the Satakarnis and other kings (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 176). The temple is evidently the Pranaveshvara temple at Talagunda, which bears the inscriptions of Prabhavati, the queen of Mrigeshavarman Kadamba, and of Ravivarman (Krishna 1932, 56–57). These epigraphs date the temple to the close of the fourth century, but if the pillar inscription is to be accepted, it was already in existence in as early as the third century AD. Excavations at Banavasi (Sirsi taluk, North Kanara district) have revealed the existence of an apsidal temple there which, unfortunately, has not been dated (*Indian Archaeology* 1970–71, 29).

In all these cases, except at the Banavasi temple, there is clear evidence of Vedic brahmanas being associated with temples. The grant for the Mattapattideva was entrusted to a brahmana, Shri Nagadatta of Koninya gōtra (Kaundinya gōtra), while the location of the Pranaveshvara temple in an agrahāra would indicate

that the assembly of the brahmana village (brahmadēya sabhā) controlled it. Likewise, the Keregalur plates (Hassan taluk, Hassan district) of Madhava II (Talakad branch) of the fifth century record the gift of (an image of) Vishnu along with all ornaments *(sarvābharaṇam)* as *śālābhōga* to brahmanas who are described as being "devoted to the six duties of performing and officiating at sacrifices, studying and teaching the Vedas, giving and receiving donations, engaged in making offerings to the gods, in the study of the sacred texts [śāstra], the performance of oblations to the deceased ancestors *[pitṛyajña]*, offering food to animals *[baliyajña]* and congregational services" (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Hn 10). Sālābhōga has been interpreted as a "gift for the congregation hall" by Krishna (1930, 113ff). The donation of the image of Vishnu might indicate that it was worshipped in the temple. Here again, the association with vaidika brahmanas is noteworthy.

Orthodox brahmanas also appear to have adopted the popular practice of building memorials to deceased heroes. A fragmentary inscription from Aihole (Badami taluk, Bijapur district) in seventh-century Kannada characters on the facade of a cave states that the cavern was excavated by the Mahājanas, presumably of Aihole, as a memorial temple to Satyasraya Maharaja, i.e., Pulakesi II (*Indian Archaeology* 1982–83, 119). The practice of constructing memorial shrines to the deceased continued in the second phase as well, but the lead was usually taken by the relatives of the dead.

One of the exceptions to this is an inscription from Avani (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district) of about AD 920, which records that Mahendra Bhatta constructed a small temple *(kiri dēgula)* for Mahendra Kaliyuga Rudra (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 65). While the surname, Bhatta, would indicate that the bearer was a brahmana, the identity of Mahendra Kaliyuga Rudra is unclear. It might denote Mahendradhiraja Nolamba, who was slain in battle at the end of the ninth century (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 65); but it is more likely that he was the administrator (sthānādhipati) of the Avanya temple (sthāna), the predecessor of Tribhuvana Karttara Bhatara who ruled Avanya from AD 920 to 961 (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 67). It is interesting to note that just as the inscription recording the death of Tribhuvana Karttara Bhatara is also carved on a rock to the west of Gindi tīrtha at Avanya,

the present record is inscribed on a rock to the west of Avani tīrtha. This similarity in the location of the memorial inscriptions would seem to support the contention that Mahendra Kaliyuga Rudra was, like Tribhuvana Karttara Bhatara, the administrator of Avani. At all events, this inscription would indicate the continuation of the practice of constructing memorial shrines by brahmanas, a practice first attested to by the Aihole inscription cited above.

The Hecche inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of c. AD 991 records the grant of twenty-four coins *(pura dramma)*, which were entrusted to the Mahājanas of Elase for the conduct of worship at the memorial of Vēḷe Akatega, who sacrificed his life to secure an heir for his master, Shantivarman-arasa of Herdese (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 479). The association of the Mahājanas with a memorial shrine may again be noted here; the corporate bodies of the agrahāras in the second phase frequently acted as patrons of temples and were sometimes entrusted with dēvabhōga grants as well.

The Mahājanas also seem to have been empowered to make grants. In this connection, mention may be made of the Punajur stone inscription (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 241) and the Maddur inscription (Yelandur taluk, Mysore district) (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Yl 40), both of AD 982, which record identical grants of ten khaṇḍugas of wet land by the Thousand Brahmanas *(sāyira oḷpārbarum)* of Malur and Maldur respectively for the temples constructed by Mallayya and Pollayya. Similarly, the Narayanasvami temple at Malurpatna (Channapatna taluk, Bangalore district) received dēva dāna grants from the assembly (sabhā) of Irajentirasinga Caturvedimangalam (Periya Malavur) in AD 1007 (Rice 1905, 9: Cp 128), Solamadevi Caturvedimangalam (Vandur) in AD 1007 (Rice 1905, 9: Cp 132) and Irajaraja Caturvedimangalam (Kudalur) in AD 1030 (Rice 1905, 9: Cp 130). These grants of three khaṇḍugas of land each were meant for the daily offerings of two grain measures *(nāḷi)* of rice *(ariśi)* to the deity. The sabhā of Solamadevi Caturvedimangalam was also the donor in an inscription of AD 1015 from Malurpatna (Channapatna taluk, Mysore district), (Rice 1905, 9: Cp 139), which records grants for the deity Arumolishvaram Udaiyar at Nigarili-Solapuram, a suburb of Manalur.

Brahmanas were also involved in the construction of temples. The Mahājanas of Aihole, who had a memorial shrine prepared for Pulakesi II in the seventh century, have already been mentioned. Similarly, the Sasarvalli inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) appears to indicate that the Mahājanas of Tanagundur joined Aychayya Gāvuṇḍa of Sasagavalli in the excavation of a rock-cut *(jari)* temple, towards which the gāvuṇḍa made a donation (Krishna 1942, no. 61). The Tagarati agrahāra inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 1027 records the construction of a temple to Narayanasvami by Pērbārva Madhavayya, the son of the Ūr-oḍeya of Tagarache (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 53). Pērbārva is the Kannada equivalent of the Sanskrit term Mahājana (Ramesh 1984, 108 fn. 1). Here, then, is an instance of a member of the corporate body of an agrahāra constructing a temple.

There are also several instances of the sabhās being entrusted with grants for temples. The Kakkarasi inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 954 records the grant of Muttiguppe to the Mahājanas of some place, the name of which is erased. This grant, by a donor whose name is now lost, is probably related to the tank and temple mentioned in the inscription as having been constructed by the donor's grandfather *(tammajjam)* (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 574). The Uttanur inscription (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district) of AD 968 includes a cash gift of fifteen gadyāṇas by Nolamba Śeṭṭi, which was entrusted to the Mahājanas of Badanur for food offerings to the deity Mahadeva (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 122). Likewise, the Bechirakh Karadihalli inscription of AD 1011 (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) records a grant of a field *(poḷa)* from Todaka Keshavayya of Vishvamitra gōtra and his wife Marabbe for the daily food offering (naivēdya), lamp (dīpa) and worship of the feet *(pādapūje)* of the god Chandeshvara. The grant was entrusted to the Thousand Mahājanas of Shalipura agrahāra (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 287). Similarly, the Balamuri inscription (Srirangapatna taluk, Mandya district) of AD 1012–13 records that Panchavan Maharaja, the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka of Bengi and Ganga Maṇḍala, a subordinate of Rajaraja I Chola, bathed at the Balambu tīrtha at Ballegula and made a grant of land to the deity of Balambari for the food offering (naivēdya) to be incurred twice daily and for a perpetual lamp (dīpa). The land grant was apparently entrusted to the Mahājanas (Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Sr 78).

However, the sabhā was not always connected with the management of dēva dāna grants, even when the temple was situated in the agrahāra. Thus, the Talagunda inscription of AD 935, which records the construction of a tank at Talagunda and grants of land by Pergaḍe Puliyamma for the deity's daily food offering (naivēdya) and perpetual lamp (nandādīpa) states that the grants were entrusted to the Hundred, and not to the Mahājanas (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 322). It is possible that the temple in question was not located at Talagunda. Similarly, although the Mahājanas of Tanagundur (Talagunda) in the case of the Sasarvalli inscription cited earlier were involved in the excavation of the rock-cut shrine, the grant was entrusted to Amritarashi, apparently a Shaiva preceptor.

Thus, by the close of the tenth century and particularly in the beginning of the eleventh century under the Cholas, the orthodox brahmanas resident in agrahāras were actively participating in Puranic forms of worship, patronising temples, constructing new ones and acting as trustees for dēvabhōga grants in some cases, although the trend had started in as early as the fourth century. This was one method of adapting to the declining patronage extended to Vedic brahmanism. The period also saw many such brahmanas in active employment in the administrations of the numerous regional and sub-regional principalities.

Shaivism

Although there is at least one reference to a Shaiva temple in the region in the first phase, the Pranaveshvara at the agrahāra of Sthanagundur, Shaivism appears to have gained in popularity in southern Karnataka only in the second phase. There are numerous instances of Shiva temples being constructed from the eight century onwards by practically all sections of the landed elite, whether high-ranking feudatories, gāvuṇḍas or small landlords. Corporate groups of landholders in villages, the merchants' assemblies (samaya) and the assemblies of the agrahāras also made donations for the construction and upkeep of Shaiva temples.

Part of the reason for the widespread popularity of Shaivism in the second phase was the very nature of the cult of Shiva: the liṅga as a representation of the deity was an aniconic symbol,

which could have been seen as incorporating the local, aboriginal deities that were similarly represented. The absorption of the aboriginal tribes into main stream society facilitated such a perception; the temples of Shiva in this period generally included subordinate shrines of the mother-goddesses and Surya. The cults of these deities were thus subsumed by Shaivism.

The popularisation of Shaivism also owed much to the Kalamukha monks, who are first mentioned in the region in the early ninth century. These monks followed the Pashupata doctrine, which emphasised the all-inclusive, all-encompassing nature of Shiva who was the cause of the creation, preservation and destruction of the universe. As such, Brahma and Vishnu were subordinate to him—a theme that is brought out by the Liṅgōdbhavamūrti aspect of Shiva frequently depicted on the walls of early medieval Shaiva shrines. The Kalamukha monks stressed total devotion to this supreme deity, who could even act independently of human karma. Devotion (bhakti) in the early medieval period connoted complete surrender to the supreme deity, who bore full responsibility for the devotee. In this way, the deity was akin to a lord who nurtured his dependants, who in turn were expected to be totally dedicated to their master. The Kalamukha doctrine was thus in tune with the prevailing socio-political set-up of the times, although the concept of absolute surrender to a superior was common to all Hindu sects. In the end, however, the chief reason for the Shaivas outstripping all rival sects in popularity lay in their monastic organisation.

PATTERNS OF PATRONAGE

High-ranking Feudatories: The feudatory lineages of the Banas, Nolambas and Chalukyas were among the noteworthy patrons of Shaivism in the second phase. The Nandi copper-plates (Chikka-Ballapura taluk, Kolar district) of Govinda III Rashtrakuta of AD 800 record the grant of Kaṇḍamangala village by the suzerain for the incense (dhūpa), lamp (dīpa), sandalwood paste (gandha), propitiatory oblation of food or grain (bali, *caru*), etc., required for the daily worship of Shiva. The temple was probably constructed by Manikabbe, the daughter of Indappa-arasa and queen of Naramga Bana, and the lands were granted by her for its upkeep (Seshadri 1965, 17: CB 106). Another temple

was constructed at Nandi by the mother of Dadda Naradhipa Bana, the ruler of Koyattur-12,000 in AD 810. The details of the land granted for this Shiva temple *(shivālaya)* is not very clear from this record (Seshadri 1965, 17: CB 66). Another mention of the Banas supporting Shaivism is in the Ganiganur inscription (Yelandur taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century, which registers the grants of land by Ghanarudra Arakutti of the Bali vaṁśa for the Arakuttishvara temple. It was then constructed by Shivasakti Bhatara, who was also entrusted with its management (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Yl 174).

Mahendradhiraja Nolamba was one of the earliest rulers of his lineage to patronise Shaivism. He offered his own palace at Baragur in AD 878 for the establishment of a Mahadeva temple. The temple was named Mahendreshvara after its patron, and was granted Nandur in Sire nāḍu for its maintenance (Rice 1904, 12: Si 38). After the death of Mahendradhiraja, his step-mother, the Kadamba princess Divalabba-arasi, constructed a Shiva temple, named the Nolamba Narayaneshvara, in his memory at Avani (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district) (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 50). The inscription recording this information is found in the basement of the Bharateshvara temple at Avani, which might be the temple constructed by Divalabba-arasi. However, Krishna, the editor of the annual report for 1935 of the *Archaeological Survey of Mysore* has questioned whether the Nolamba Narayaneshvara temple was not in fact the huge and ancient-looking Lakshmaneshvara temple, the more centrally located Rameshvara temple or the whole group of temples at Avani (Krishna 1935, 99ff). Despite this confusion, the inscriptions cited above would indicate the patronage extended by the Nolambas to Shaivism as well as the then prevalent tęndency to name a shrine after its patron, perhaps as an attempt to identify the king with the deity consecrated in the temple.

Nolamba patronage of Shaivism is brought out by another inscription from Baragur of AD 914, which records the grant of land for two temples at the principal place (mūlasthāna) of Baragur by Nagiyabbe and Neleyabbe, the queens of Ayyapadeva Nolamba. The grant was made at the Mahendreshvara temple and was received by Vimalamati Bhatara of the eastern (mūḍaṇa) monastery (maṭha) (Rice 1904, 12: Si 39). This inscription would

imply that by the early eleventh century, Baragur was developing as a temple and monastic complex.

Dilipayya Nolamba was also an ardent champion of Shaivism. In AD 942–43, he granted land for the deity Ninneshvaradeva (Rice 1904, 12: Si 28); he also granted the proceeds from the minor taxes (kiṟudeṟe) in favour of the deity Mahadeva of Avani (1905, 10: Mb 57); and exempted the payment of harvest dues *(suggāḷge)* by the temple (sthāna) of Avanya (1905, 10: Mb 52).

The Chalukyan chiefs of Mysore also patronised Shaivism by constructing temples and granting land for their upkeep. Thus, the Kukkarahalli inscription (Mysore taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century records the construction of the Narasingeshvara temple by the Mahāsāmanta, Narasinga Chalukya, and the grant of Manalevadi for its maintenance (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 223). Likewise, the temple of Buteshvara at Varuna (Mysore taluk) received the grant of Aragodupalli from the Chalukya Mahāsāmanta, Goggi (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 169), while Mahāsāmanta Durga granted Torevalli village to the same temple (1976, 5: My 168). The Shiralakoppa inscription (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 1019 records the renovation of and taḷavṛtti grants for the Mūlasthāna Nandikeshvaradeva temple. The donor was Kundama-arasa, the son of Irivebedanga and the ruler of Banavasi-12,000, who held the titles of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara and the right to the use of the five instruments (pañcamahāśabda). He was a subordinate of the Chalukyan emperor, Jayasinghadeva (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 125). If the Irivebedanga referred to in this record is the same as Ranna's patron Irivebedanga Satyasraya (Kulkarni 1985, II.8), then Kundama-arasa would also be of Chalukyan extraction. At all events, the Shiralakoppa inscription records the patronage extended to a Shaiva temple by a high-ranking Chalukyan feudatory.

In AD 1029, a middle-ranking feudatory, Vamanayya, the Daṇḍanāyaka and minister (mantri) of Yuddhamalladeva, constructed a temple named Siddheshvara in memory of his guru Mauni Bhattaraka, who attained final emancipation (siddhi). The temple was granted twelve khaṇḍugas of land at Banapura for the daily food offerings (naivēdya), perpetual lamp (nandādīpa) and incense (dhūpa) used for worship (Rice 1905, 9: Nl 1).

Gāvuṇḍas and Small Landlords: Several instances of temples constructed by lower-ranking landlords and gāvuṇḍas are provided in the inscriptions. Thus, the ninth-century Basavanahalli inscription (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) records the grant of land for the Ereyangeshvara temple by Ereyamma. The granted land was initially purchased by Ereyamma from Shrikantha Pandita Bhatara (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 320). Although Ereyamma's rank and social status have not been specified, he was perhaps a landlord, and the temple was possibly named after him. An alternative interpretation is that the temple had been constructed earlier by Nitimarga Ereyanga I Ganga and subsequently received a grant from Ereyamma for the stated purpose of whitewashing *(sunakke)* and mortar painting *(sotage)* its walls.

The Punajur stone inscription (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 241) and the Maddur inscription (Yelandur taluk, Mysore district) (1975, 4: Yl 40), both of AD 982, record identical grants by the Thousand Brahmanas (sāyira oḷpārbarum) of Malur and Maldur respectively of ten khaṇḍugas of land for the temples constructed by Mallayya and Pollayya. The rank and social status of the individuals are not specified in these inscriptions.

The Kempanapura inscription (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of AD 991 (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 145) on the other hand, specifically mentions that the donor, Poleyya of Kellur, possessed an estate (mānya) at Poginur out of which he granted some land for the renovation of a temple, the feeding of ascetics and education. Poleyya was evidently a landlord but did not hold a high rank in the feudatory hierarchy. A similar grant in the Nagarle inscription (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) was made by Vidyadharayya with the permission of Satyavakya Permānaḍigal, the Ganga king, for education and the feeding of ascetics *(bratigaḷ)* residing at the Nagarala temple that had been constructed by Nannayya (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 239). The ranks of both Nannayya and Vidyadharayya cannot be discerned. The inscription belongs to the tenth century.

This difficulty does not arise with the Heggothara epigraph (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of the ninth century, which records the construction of a temple (dēgula) by Permāḍi Gāvuṇḍa's wife Chavundabbe, the daughter of Jogabbe, the

courtesan (sūḷe) of Permāḍi, who might possibly be identified with the Ganga ruler (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 385). Only the area of jurisdiction of the Gāvuṇḍa has not been specified in the record. On the other hand, the Belaturu inscription (Heggadedevanakote taluk, Mysore district) of AD 1020 records the renovation of a ruined Shaiva temple by the Gāvuṇḍa of Belaturu named Jayangonda Sola Permāḍi Gāvuṇḍa, who was the Oḍeya of Nugu nāḍu. The inscription goes on to record the performance of a *rudra hōma* and a feast for a thousand men by Basava Śeṭṭi, the son of Nalla Muruga Śeṭṭi and Magabbe. The Śeṭṭi also purchased some land and endowed it on the temple for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 58).

An earlier endowment by a śeṭṭi is recorded in the Uttanur inscription (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district) of AD 968. This records a cash gift of forty gadyāṇas for a perpetual lamp and daily offerings to the deity Parameshvara. Land was purchased out of this gift and bestowed on the temple (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 122). The Suttur inscription (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of AD 1032 records the construction of the temple of Ishana Ishvaram-uḍaiyar and Mūlasthāna Uḍaiyar by Gundabbe, the wife of Marayya Śeṭṭi of Shrotriyur. Grants of land, of oil for a perpetual lamp, the grant of five instruments to be played thrice daily and specified contributions from each okkal were also made by her and entrusted to Brahmalingi Bhatara. Similar grants were also made by the sabhā of Shrotriyur and the Samaya, which included the Nānadēśi guild (Gopal et al. 1905, 10: Nj 215).

It has been seen earlier that several high-ranking feudatories had constructed temples that were then named after them. This practice was not limited to the feudatories alone: an inscription from Alur (Chintamani taluk, Kolar district) of AD 957 records the grant of land by the Nolamba and his subordinate, Tiruvayya, for the Bhimeshvara temple at the request of Bhimayya, the son of Rajayya (Rice 1905, 10: Ct 49). The temple was evidently named after Bhimayya, who was apparently an ordinary land-holder without any rank in the feudatory hierarchy. Likewise, the Nandigunda inscription (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) of AD 1021 registers the grant of land and a hand mill *(kaygāṇa)* for the priest *(dēvalaka)*, daily food offerings (naivēdya) and a perpetual lamp *(nandādīpa)* to the temple of Malleshvara, which

had been constructed by Malla Gāvuṇḍa and evidently named after him (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 201).

A memorial shrine for a gāvuṇḍa is mentioned in the Mudlupalya inscription (Magadi taluk, Bangalore district) of AD 968 (Rice 1905, 9: Ma 75). This records the death of Dadiga, the son of Gangagacca, the Nāḷgāvuṇḍa of Manne nāḍu-300, in defence of his village. A temple, Dadigeshvara, was constructed as a memorial and land grants were made for its upkeep. This is reminiscent of the construction of the Nolamba Narayaneshvara in the memory of Mahendradhiraja, after he perished in the war with Ereyanga II Ganga (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 38, 50). From these examples it is clear that gāvuṇḍas and small landlords patronised Shaivism on a large scale, particularly in the tenth century.

Royal Officials: Royal officials formed another category of patrons of Shaivism. The Talagunda inscription of AD 935 records that Pergaḍe Puliyamma constructed a big tank at Tanagundur and made a grant for the deity's daily food offerings (naivēdya) and perpetual lamp (nandādīpa) (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 322). The deity in question was probably Pranaveshvara of Talagunda. Similarly, another inscription of AD 938 from Otur (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) records that Pergaḍe Nakiyayya, the ruler of Cittarate Otur, constructed a temple (dēgula) and granted fields for its maintenance. His younger brother, Pergaḍe Veleyamma, commissioned a monastery (maṭha) (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 70). This makes it probable that the brothers were Shaiva by faith, since Vaishnavas do not appear to have developed a monastic movement in this period. Moreover, the inscription records the installation of a Keshavaditya (Suryanarayana) image by Poleyamma's wife Gombabbe, and grants of land for its upkeep. This seems to indicate that a subsidiary shrine of Suryanarayana existed in the premises of the temple constructed by Pergaḍe Nakiyayya.

Another royal official who made grants for a Shaiva temple, the Shrikantheshvara, was Kaṭakada-ġōva Chattayyadeva of Banavasi in AD 939. Taḷavṛtti grants were made for the maintenance of the temple and the conduct of various rituals (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 476). The Bagali inscription (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century records grants for the Bhujangeshvara

temple by a pergaḍe, a sēnabōva and a corporate group, the Three Hundred (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 114).

Local Corporate Groups: Local corporate groups frequently made grants for temples. That their influence often extended beyond a single settlement is revealed by the Suttur inscription cited earlier, which included grants by the Samaya (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 215). The Keregodi Rangapura plates (Tiptur taluk, Tumkur district) of the ninth century record the grant of the village of Kedasur in Nirggunda viṣaya by the Three Hundred for the repairs and renovation of the Ishvara temple in the village of Alur in Magare viṣaya (Ramesh 1984, 340–49 no. 113). It is not clear who the Three Hundred were or how they came to wield power over two different viṣayas. The epigraph also mentions Kesi Bhatta and Nadi Gāvuṇḍa of Madeyanur, Mara Gāvuṇḍa of Tirburu and Pora Gāvuṇḍa of Keregudal, who were jointly to protect the grant. It is possible that they were members of the Three Hundred, although this is not specifically stated. As seen in the Bagali inscription, the Three Hundred were also involved in the grant for the Bhujangeshvara temple at Balgaliyur (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 114). Although there is no way of knowing whether the two groups were identical, the possibility cannot be ruled out, given that the group mentioned in the Keregodi Rangapura plates was a supralocal body. As earlier mentions in this book have shown, the corporate bodies of the agrahāras also patronised temples and participated in temple management in the second phase.

Role of Sectarian Preceptors: Temple priests and Shaiva preceptors played an active role in the promotion of temple construction. One of the earliest inscriptions to throw light on this is the eighth-century epigraph from Homma (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district), which registers the grant of a field, a house, and a garden by Devendra *Tammaḍi* and Muddegana for the Vinitishvara temple at Polma. It also records the purchase of the garden of the merchants (vāṇiga toṭṭa) by Devendra, evidently for bestowal on the temple, and the construction of the north and south porch of the temple by him. In addition, Manda-ten-Nandarkar and Maratta-ten-Nandarkar commissioned the construction of the temple tower (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 147). The principal patron of the Vinitishvara temple, as evident

from this record, was unquestionably Devendra Tammaḍi. Tammaḍi signified a temple priest in Telugu (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Tammaḍi*), while in Kannada it meant an attendant on the idol (Kittel 1986; q.v. *Tammaḍi*). At all events, he was a temple priest, which would indicate that Shaiva priests were already taking an active part in temple construction by the eighth century.

The Nandigrama inscription (Chikka-Ballapura taluk, Kolar district) records that the Bhoga Nandishvara temple was constructed at Nandigrama in the ninth century. Although the original benefactor of the temple is unknown, an inscription of the ninth century records the construction of the temple tower *(gōpa kaṭṭa)* by Paliyana, the son of Ainurvachari, possibly at the instance of Dharmashakti Pandita Bhatara and a gāvuṇḍa (Rice 1905, 10: CB 26). Dharmashakti Pandita was probably a Shaiva monk, and the successor of Ishvaradasa Muni as the pontiff of Nandi. This inscription once again highlights the involvement of Shaiva monks in the promotion of temple construction. An extreme example of such involvement is brought out by the epitaph of Tribhuvana Karttara Bhatara, the pontiff of Avanya, which credits him with the construction of fifty temples and several new tanks in the forty years of his tenure (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 65).

Occasionally, sectarian preceptors undertook the construction of Shaiva temples at the instance of other patrons. Thus, as the Ganiganur inscription (Yelandur taluk, Mysore district) shows, Shivasakti Bhatara undertook the construction of the Arakuttishvara temple on behalf of Ghanarudra Arakutti (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Yl 174).

The Ganjigere inscription (Chikmagalur taluk, Chikmagalur district) from the close of the ninth century indicates that the initiative for the construction of a temple was often taken by Shaiva monks, even if they lacked the resources to construct one themselves. Thus, Amritarashi, a monk, is said to have observed a vow, and out of the money collected for the purpose by Permāḍi, initiated the construction of a temple to Shiva. Images of Nandi and Bhagavati were commissioned and prepared by Narasayya, Varddhana Cakravarti and Ereya Nagamma (Rice 1901, 6: Cm 133).

Shaivism appears to have had a wider social base among its followers than Jainism in this period. Part of the reason for this might lie in the fact that it was an entirely temple-based cult, and

the energies of the Shaiva monks were directed almost wholly towards garnering support for the construction of temples. For the Jainas, the construction of shrines was important and recommended, but it represented a deviation from their original stress on rigorous ascetic practices as the means of salvation—a view that was still commended in their works. The Shaivas were not hampered by any such dualism, although their monks also followed an ascetic regimen similar to that of the Jainas.

THE SHAIVA PANTHEON

Shaiva temples usually enshrine the liṅga in their sanctum sanctorums. This emblem of Shiva served a useful purpose in the early medieval context, when more and more marginal, tribal groups were being assimilated into the mainstream of a class-divided state society. In Tamil Nadu, the early Cholas systematically promoted the liṅga due to its assimilative capacity: as an accepted aniconic symbol of the deity, it could incorporate local cultic practices centred around the pillar or the tree (Champakalakshmi 1981, 400).

In Vaishnavism, the cult of Narasimha, with its myth of the deity bursting forth from the pillar, probably served a similar purpose of absorbing the cult of the pillar deity (Jaiswal 1982, 137). The hill-born *(girija)* form of Narasimha was also particularly suitable for absorbing the aniconical symbols situated on the top of hills and worshipped by tribals. This form of Narasimha is particularly attested to in Andhra Pradesh and Orissa (Eschmann 1978b, 99–117). Although there is evidence of the existence of Narasimha temples in southern Karnataka in this period, there seems to have been a preference for the Yoga Narasimha form of the deity. The Hinduising potential of this form does not appear to have been very great; rather, it seems to have emerged as the result of the influence of Jainism and Shaivism, with their emphasis on meditation and yōga.

The Shiva liṅga appears to have been the primary instrument of acculturation in many parts of South Asia. In Orissa, *svayambhū* liṅgas in particular, which were natural rocks encircled by a symbol of the mother-goddess *(śakti)*, easily lent themselves for this purpose by re-identifying the aniconical symbols of the mother-goddess as one representing Shiva (Eschmann 1978a, 96).

While Karnataka does not afford clear-cut examples of the use of the svayambhū liṅgas or natural stones and their assimilative capacity, the available man-made liṅgas, such as that in the Deseshvara temple at Maddur, illustrate the all-encompassing nature of Shiva by the etched figures of Ganapati, Shiva and Parvati on them. Perhaps this is an iconic representation of Shiva's liṅga form including the symbols of the other deities of the pantheon. Natural stones identified as the symbol of the mother-goddess are not unknown even today. Thus, according to the Annual Report of the *Archaeological Survey of Mysore* for the year 1938, the goddess Kanyaramma is still worshipped in the form of a liṅga-like stone at Midigesi in Tumkur district (Krishna 1938, 11). It is likely that in the other places these natural occurrences might be identified as a symbol of Shiva.

The liṅga was not the only object of worship in these temples. Nandi, the attendant of Shiva, is usually enshrined in a separate pavilion facing the sanctum. Thus, the Bhoga Nandishvara temple inscription (Chikka-Ballapura taluk, Kolar district) of the ninth century records the construction of a pavilion (gōpa ·kaṭṭa) for Nandi by Paliyana (Rice 1905, 10: CB 26). Similar pavilions of Nandi are also in evidence at the ninth-century Onakehondada Basavanna temple at Belgami (Shimoga district) (Krishna 1941, 84–85), the Rameshvara temple at Kubatur (Shimoga district) of c. AD 900 (Krishna 1941, 37) and the Arkeshvara temple at Alur (Mysore district) of the early Chola period (Krishna 1937, 37).

A shrine of the mother-goddess is also often present in the precincts of Shaiva temples. The Kuntur inscription (Kollegal taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century, which records the grants for the deity Vinga Maheshvara by the Twelve of Kundattur, also includes a grant for the goddess Bhalari (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ko 10), implying that a shrine of the goddess was included in the premises. This is certainly so in the Rameshvara temple at Narasamangala (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district), which has been assigned to c. AD 800. A separate shrine to the southwest of the temple houses the seven goddesses group *(saptamātṛka)* consisting of Brahmi, Maheshvari, Kaumari, Vaishnavi, Varahi, Aindri and Chamunda accompanied by Virabhadra, Ganesha, Daksha Brahma or Kubera and Bhairava. An image of Mahishasuramardini

from the Ganga period, which was possibly earlier accommodated in a separate shrine, is now located to the east of the saptamātṛka group (Krishna 1937, 35–36).

In several other temples, the saptamātṛka group or the Mahishasuramardini images were placed in the vestiblule *(sukhanāsi)* or the dance hall *(navaraṅga maṇḍapa)* of the main temple. This is the case with the Mahishasuramardini image at the Arkeshvara temple at Talakad, which is placed in the sukhanāsi (Nilakantha Sastri 1946, 14). Similarly, a saptamātṛka panel and an image of Mahishasuramardini are placed in the navaraṅga maṇḍapa of the Kubatur Rameshvara temple (Krishna 1941, 99). An image of the goddess also finds a place in the navaraṅga maṇḍapa of the Nageshvara temple at Begur in Bangalore district (Narasimhacharya 1914–15, 16). However, neither the image nor the temple have been clearly dated by the editor.

Apart from mother-goddesses, Shaiva temples also usually enshrined images of Surya. Thus, the Ganiganur inscription (Yelandur taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century, which records the grants for the Arakuttishvara temple by Ghanarudra Arakutti, also included grants for Aditya Bhatara (Surya) by Elabbe and Polalabbe (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Yl 174). Subsidiary Surya shrines are also attested to in the Gautameshvara temple (Shimoga district) at Gauja (Krishna 1941, 76–77) and the tenth-century Ishvara temple at Nandigudi (Chitradurga district) (1937, 74). An empty pedestal with seven horses etched on it is found to the east of the saptamātṛka shrine in the Rameshvara temple at Narasamangala; it probably carried an image of Surya, which in all likelihood had been accommodated in a separate shrine earlier (Krishna 1937, 36). Images of Surya were kept in the navaraṅga maṇḍapa of the Arkeshvara temple at Talakad (Nilakantha Sastri 1946, 14), the Nageshvara temple at Begur (Narasimhacharya 1914–15, 16) and the eleventh-century Dadigeshvara temple at Kodihalli (Krishna 1940, 56); it is not known whether they had been earlier housed in separate cells.

Shaiva temples are also distinguished by sculptural friezes illustrating Puranic themes. These Puranic friezes depict not merely Shaiva myths and legends but also themes from the epics, which are essentially Vaishnava in character. Thus, the four central pillars of the navaraṅga maṇḍapa of the Kalleshvara temple at Garji (Chikmagalur district) depict various aspects of Shiva such

as Nataraja, Bhairava, the Liṅgōdbhavamūrti, Ardhanarishvara, Gajasuramardana, Harihara, etc. These pillars, ascribable to the late tenth or early eleventh centuries, also depict Lakshmi seated in the lotus position *(padmāsana)*, Venkatesa and Mahishasuramardini (Krishna 1942, 61–62). Similarly, the beams supporting the navaraṅga ceiling in the Rameshvara temple at Narasamangala, which is ascribable to the early ninth century, depict the babe Krishna lying on a banyan leaf, Rama and Lakshmana conferring with Sugriva, the bridging of the ocean, Gajalakshmi, Vishnu reclining on Adishesha, Sita in Ashokavana, etc. The tower atop the sanctum sanctorum *(śikhara)* of the temple also bears stucco images of Tandaveshvara Shiva, Gajasuramardana, Dakshinamurti, Vishnu treading on Bali's head, Uma-Maheshvara and the dancing Durga, among others (Krishna 1937, 30–32). The navaraṅga maṇḍapa ceiling of the Rameshvara temple at Kubatur (Krishna 1941, 99) and the Kalleshvara temple at Aralaguppe (1935, 11–12) depict Tandaveshvara Shiva attended by Nandi, Parvati, Ganesha, Kumara and musicians, and surrounded by the guardians of the eight cardinal points of the compass *(aṣṭadikpāla)*.

The inclusion of the Vaishnava themes in Shaiva temples, together with shrines of mother-goddesses and Surya, were probably a means of asserting the inclusive and all-encompassing nature of Shiva. H. V. Stietencron reports a similar situation in Orissa, where many works of art relating to Vishnu are found in temples of Shiva at Bhubaneshwar and other places. These images, however, are distinctly Shaiva in character in that He is shown as the supreme, all-inclusive deity within whom all other deities, including Vishnu in his various manifestations, are subsumed. However, their appreciation requires an acquaintance with Vaishnava mythology by the educated viewer (Stietencron 1978, 7).

THE SHAIVA MONASTIC ORDER

Although the Pashupata doctrine presumably followed by the Kalamukhas[7] required residence in a temple only in the first stage

[7] Since no Kalamukha work has survived, Lorenzen has presumed that they maintained Pashupata doctrines and cults (Lorenzen 1972, 183). For further evidence in support of this see, Chidanandamurthy 1979, 129–33.

of an initiate's life, in this region they appear to have been an essentially resident order from their very inception.

The earliest reference in southern Karnataka to a Shaiva monastic establishment occurs in the Nandi copper-plates (Chikka-Ballapura taluk, Kolar district) of Govinda III Rashtrakuta of AD 806 (Seshadri 1965, 17: CB 106) as well as another set of copper-plates dated AD 810 (1965, 17: CB 66) from the same place. In both cases, Ishvaradasa Muni, the administrator (sthānādhipati) of Nandigiri and chief disciple of Kalashakti Guru was the trustee for the grants to the Shaiva temples at Nandi. Dharmashakti Pandita, who is mentioned in a late ninth-century inscription from the Bhoga Nandishvara temple at Nandi (Rice 1905, 10: CB 26), probably succeeded Ishvaradasa Muni.

Another Shaiva monastic centre was situated at Avani (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district), where a cluster of temples had arisen in the ninth and tenth centuries. Tribhuvana Karttara Bhatara and his possible predecessor Mahendra Kaliyuga Rudra, have been mentioned earlier in this book as the pontiffs of Avanya temple in the tenth century. A ninth-century inscription on a pillar near the Bharateshvara temple at Avani indicates that the pontificate of Avani had been established in that century. The epigraph records that a minor Ganga chief, Pṛthivī Ganga-arasa visited Banesvara and sought an audience with Pandita Bhatara, who was evidently the administrator (sthānādhipati) at that time (Krishna 1935, 87 no. 15). An inscription from Balla village (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district) dated AD 1007 (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 91) mentions Tribhuvana Karttara Lingadevar as the administrator of Avanya temple (sthāna). He is the last pontiff of Avani to find mention in the inscriptions under study.

Hebbata (Shrinivaspur taluk, Kolar district) was also the site of a Shaiva monastic establishment in the first quarter of the tenth century. An ācārya's sthāna at Perbhata is mentioned in the two hero-stones from this place (Rice 1905, 10: Sp 29 and Sp 28), although it is not clear whether the reference is to a temple or merely a monastery.

The late ninth-century Mogenahalli inscription (Channapatna taluk, Bangalore district) mentions Mūvaḍi Chillukadevar as the ruler (āḷdana) of the temples of Shivamareshvara, Jagdhara Naghareshvara and Nitimargeshvara (Rice 1905, 9: Cp 48). Unfortunately, the location of these temples is not specified,

but judging from the title of *Mūvaḍi* (the Third) prefixed to the name of this preceptor, the Shaiva monastic establishment appears to be of considerable antiquity even at the end of the ninth century.

Another Shaiva temple and monastic complex was started at Baragur (Sira taluk, Tumkur district) in AD 878, when Mahendradhiraja Nolamba dedicated his own palace there for the establishment of the Mahendreshvara temple. The administrator (sthānapati) was *Mahāvrata Pradhāna* Dinakara Soma Bhatara of the Gauha gōtra. A monastery (maṭha) also seems to have been attached to the temple (Rice 1904, 12: Si 38). Another inscription from Baragur dated AD 919 attests to the existence of two other temples there as well as to at least two monasteries (Rice 1904, 12: Si 39).

Hemavati (Sira taluk, Tumkur district) was another Shaiva centre. The temple of Ninneshvaradeva situated here received a grant of land in AD 942–43, which was entrusted to Chilluka Bhatara, who was the disciple of Vakkani Bhatara and who is eulogised as the reincarnation of Lakulisha (Rice 1904, 12: Si 28).

Pemjeru, which is described as a pañcamaṭha sthāna in one of the Baragur records (Rice 1904, 12: Si 39), appears to be a major Shaiva monastic centre in the tenth century and was apparently closely linked to the monastic establishments at Baragur and Hemavati (1904, 12: Si 28, ll. 46–48).

There are several references to Shaiva monastic establishments from the Mysore and Shimoga districts in the Western division. One of the earliest references to such an establishment in Mysore district comes from the Basavanahalli inscription (T. Narsipur taluk) of the late ninth century, which mentions Lakulishvara Bhatara, the disciple of Shrikantha Pandita Bhatara, as the manager *(sthānika)* of the Ereyangeshvara temple (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 320). The location of this temple unfortunately cannot be ascertained.

Nannayya's temple at Nagarale (Nanjanagud taluk) was another monastery for Shaiva monks in the tenth century. The pontiff of this centre has not been named but the inscription makes arrangements for the support of ascetics resident there *(bratigaḷge unban)* and for education (vidyā dāna) (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 239).

Piriyaholma (Nanjanagud taluk) was the centre of one of the two major sub-sects of the Kalamukhas, the Śakti Pariṣe, in the late

tenth century. The temple of the mother-goddess situated here was also under their control, as was perhaps the temple of Chikkeshvara, which is mentioned in the course of the boundary details of the lands granted to the Mahadeva temple (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 294 of AD 977).

A Shaiva monastery was located at Suttur (Nanjanagud taluk) in the first quarter of the eleventh century. An inscription from AD 1032 records grants for the newly constructed temples of Ishana Ishvaram-uḍaiyar and Mūlasthāna Uḍaiyar, which were entrusted to the pontiff Brahmalingi Bhatara. The reference to a flower merchant attached to the maṭha *(maṭhada pūvina śeṭṭi)* would indicate that there was a separate monastery here (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 215). It is interesting to note that the temple endowments were controlled by the Shaiva pontiff and not the brahmadēya sabhā of Suttur.

The Buteshvara temple at Varuna (Mysore taluk) was the seat of Nanni Karttara Bhatara in the tenth century, who was entrusted with the grants for the temple by the Chalukyan chiefs Goggi and Durga (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 168, 169). Similarly, the Bhujangeshvara temple at Balgaliyur (Chamrajanagar taluk) was ruled by Kuchi Bhatara, who also bore the title of Nirggunda Gōrava, in the tenth century. This monk was entrusted with the management of the grants made for the temple by Pergaḍe Jogapayya, a sēnabōva, and the Three Hundred (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 114). Another tenth-century shrine under the control of the Kalamukhas was the Arakuttishvara, which was commissioned by Ghanarudra Arakutti of the Bali vaṁśa. The grants for this temple were entrusted to Shivashakti Bhatara, who then had the temple constructed. He is said to have situated himself near Nandi (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Yl 174), and perhaps belonged to the spiritual lineage of Kalashakti Guru and Ishvaradasa Muni (Seshadri 1965, 17: CB 106). The location of the Arakuttishvara temple itself is not clearly specified but it is possible that this, too, was situated in the vicinity of Nandi.

The Mahadeva temple of Kundattur (Kollegal taluk) was the seat of Paramasatti Bhatara in the tenth century. The preceptor as well as the shrine of Vinga Maheshvara and the subsidiary shrine of Bhalari were recipients of grants of land from the Twelve of Kundattur and the king, Nitimarga Permānaḍigaḷ (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ko 10).

The Kempanapura inscription of AD 991 (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) records grants for the feeding of ascetics, education and the renovation of a temple by Poleyya of Kellur. The grants were entrusted to Somarashi Bhattaraka of Ishvara lineage (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 145). This temple, the location of which is unfortunately not specified, served as a residence for Kalamukha monks.

The Atakur inscription of AD 949–50 (Maddur taluk, Mandya district) indicates that the Challeshvara temple was similarly the centre of Kalamukha monks, although the pontiff's name is not given (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Mu 42). This inscription records the setting up of a memorial stone for the hound Kali in front of the Challeshvara temple at Atakur, and stipulates that the Gōrava ruling the temple (sthāna) was to worship the memorial before his meal. Sircar explains gōrava as a Shaiva priest (Sircar 1966, q.v. *Gōrava*) while Kittel opines that gōravas were a class of Shaiva mendicants (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Gōrava*). It has been seen above that Kuchi Bhatara, the Oḍeya of the Bhujangeshvara temple at Balgaliyur, was conferred the title of Nirggunda Gōrava by the local ruler (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 114), indicating that Shaiva pontiffs were addressed as gōravas. This is also borne out by the Hebbata inscription, which mentions Bhavashiva as pre-eminent in the realm of the sacred (tapas), and registers the grant by the Gōrava of good quality cows *(aggala tuṟu)* for a hero who perished in a cattle raid (Rice 1905, 10: Sp 29). Gōrava here appears to refer to Bhavashiva. Thus, the term gōrava applies not only to Shaiva priests but also to ascetics of the Shaiva monastic order. The Challeshvara temple at Atakur therefore appears to be a monastic centre as well, and the inscription implies that ascetics regularly discharged priestly functions also.

The Kannambadi inscription (Pandavapura taluk, Mandya district) mentions the Saviyabbeshvara temple, which also perhaps served as a residence for Shaiva monks (Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Ppu 43), a conclusion drawn from the fact that the details of land granted for this shrine include a reference to the tank of the gōravas *(gōravakeṟe)*. The location of this temple is unfortunately unspecified; it is possible that it is identical with the Kanveshvara temple at Kannambadi near which the inscription, which is datable to the close of the tenth century,

was found. The location of the tank is also not specified, but if it, too, was situated at Kannambadi then it would strengthen the premise that the Saviyabbeshvara had an attached monastery. On the other hand, the Hale Budanur inscription (Mandya taluk, Mandya district) of AD 1024 does not mention either a temple or a monastery but refers to a pontiff, Sovirashi Bhattaraka, who constructed a tank for which the gāvuṇḍas of Budanur granted some land as bittuvaṭṭa (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Md 54). It appears from this record that Sovirashi Bhattaraka exercised authority over at least some part of Budanur or its vicinity.

There is only one reference to a Kalamukha centre from the Hassan district. This comes from the ninth-century Maruru inscription (Arkalgud taluk) (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Ag 28). It registers grants of land to Akhanda Bhatara as a donation for education (vidyā dāna). Such a grant would indicate the existence of a monastery which also served as a centre for imparting theological instruction to the laity. Unfortunately, the location of this monastery is not mentioned. The inscription itself was found in a field at Maruru, and contains details of lands granted in terms of fields and tanks but the place name is not specified; it is possible, however, that both the land and the monastery were located in Maruru.

Reference to a Kalamukha monk in the Chikmagalur district comes from only the Ganjigere inscription (Chikmagalur taluk) from the close of the ninth century. This inscription records the zeal of a monk, Amritarashi, in the construction of a Shaiva temple in Kolur nāḍu with subsidiary shrines of Nandi and Bhagavati. The precise location of this temple in Kolur nāḍu is not specified, but it probably served as seat for this monk, who performed a vow and collected funds for its construction (Rice 1901, 6: Cm 133). Chikamagalur inscriptions refer to other Shaiva temples, the Kilganeshvara at Kigga of the seventh century (Rice 1901, 6: Kp 37–40) and the Jiviteshvara at Chittavalli of the eleventh century (1901, 6: Cm 95) for example, but there is no evidence in both these cases of an association with Kalamukha monks.

The earliest reference to a Kalamukha monk in Shimoga district comes from the Hecce inscription (Sorab taluk) of AD 939, which registers grants to the Shrikantheshvara temple for the decoration of the image of the deity (aṅgabhōga), entertainment of the deity (raṅgabhōga), performance of rites (caitra pavitra),

food for the ascetics (tapōdhanara āhāradāna), daily food offerings (naivēdya) and the maintenence of temple structures (khaṇḍasphuṭita jīrṇōddhāra) (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 476). The grants were entrusted to Rudrashakti Panditadevar. The epigraph also mentions Brahmabhujanga Paramasvamigal, who was evidently a witness to the grant.

Similarly, the Mūlasthāna Nandikeshvaradeva temple at Shiralakoppa (Shikarpur taluk) which was renovated in AD 1019, served as the seat of Muliga Shivashakti Panditadevar, who was entrusted with taḷavṛtti grants made for its maintenance (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 125). The Otur inscription (Sorab taluk) of c. AD 938 records the construction of a temple (dēgula), a monastery (maṭha) and a subsidiary shrine of Keshavaditya by Pergaḍe Nakiyayya and members of his family (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 70). Although the record does not mention any Shaiva pontiff, the reference to a monastery indicates that it was a seat of the Kalamukhas, the only Hindu sect to develop a monastic order in this period.

There are epigraphic references to several other Shaiva temples in Shimoga district as well, such as the Pranaveshvara at Sthanagundur agrahāra (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 176, Sk 322), the Gautameshvara at Gauja agrahāra (1902, 7: Sk 45[b]), the Chandeshvara at Shalipura agrahāra (1902, 7: Sk 287) and the liṅgas established at Uttaranihalli (Shikarpur taluk) in AD 1012 (1902, 7: Sk 71) and Nellur (Sorab taluk) in AD 1013 (1904, 8: Sb 471). In all these cases, however, there is no evidence of their association with Kalamukha monks.

The Kalamukhas thus appear to have been entrenched in the Kolar, Tumkur and Mysore districts and were less visible in the other districts. The reason for their lower incidence in the Hassan–Chikmagalur tract may lie in the fact that this area was a Jaina stronghold. It is less easy to explain why the Bangalore district yields but two references to the Kalamukhas. The area was dominated by the Nolambas and Banas, who patronised Shaivism rather than Jainism. Although there is archaeological and epigraphic evidence for the existence of Shaiva temples, few of these appear to have been associated with the Kalamukhas.

The inscriptions examined above provide an idea of the degree of support extended by the laity to these monks. Grants were made to support ascetics resident in temples (bratigaḷge uṇban)

(Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 239), for feeding them (tapōdhanara āhāradāna) (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 476), for the imparting of education to the laity (vidyā dāna) (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 239; 1984, 8: Ag 28) as well as the conduct of rites in temples. The Atakur inscription appears to indicate that the priests officiating in the temples were Shaiva ascetics (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Mu 42). They were also responsible for the administration of the temple and its estates. In the case of monastic centres such as Avanya, the jurisdiction of the pontiffs often extended to the neighbouring settlements as well, and encompassed not only the religious but also the temporal sphere.

Several inscriptions provide some idea of the ascetic regimen of the Kalamukhas. Thus, Ishvaradasa Muni, the administrator (sthānādhipati) of Nandi Hill is said to be observant of vows *(vrata niyama)*, penance (tapa) and daily prayers *(japa hōma)* (Seshadri 1965, 17: CB 106 of AD 806). Similarly, the Baragur inscription of AD 878, which mentions Dinakara Soma Bhatara of the Gauha gōtra and pravara as the trustee, describes him as pre-eminent among those observing the mahavrata (mahāvrata pradhāna) (Rice 1904, 12: Si 38). The grant was to pass on in the lineage of the guru provided the disciples remained celibate (brahmacāri), thus establishing that celibacy was a rule of this order. The sect to which this preceptor belonged is not very clear, since both the Kalamukhas and the Kapalikas were associated with the mahāvrata penance or vow (Lorenzen 1972, 73).

The Kapalika mahāvrata was an imitative repetition of Shiva's performance of it as expiation for beheading the fifth head of Brahma. Through the performance of this vow, the Kapalikas believed that they became ritually homologised with the god and partook of his divine powers (Lorenzen 1972, 80). On the other hand, the Kalamukha mahāvrata was probably related to that described in Patanjali's *Yōgasūtra*, which holds that when the five great moral rules or duties (yama) of truth (satya), abstention from stealing (asteya), non-violence (ahiṁsā), chastity (brahmacarya) and non-possession of material wealth (aparigraha) are practised without exceptions being made of time or place, status or occasion, the ob servance is known as mahāvrata (Lorenzen 1972, 87). Lorenzen argues that the Pashupatas attached great importance to the performance of the five great rules

(yama) and five lesser rules *(niyama)*, and that most Kalamukha inscriptions stress the yogic attainments of these ascetics (Lorenzen 1972, 81–82). An example of this is provided by the Hale Budanur record of AD 1024, which describes Sovirashi Bhattaraka as possessing restraint (yama), discipline (niyama), study (svāḍhyāya), absorption in holy thought (samādhi), meditation (dhyāna), silence (mauna) and performance of duties (anuṣṭhāna) (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Md 54). If it is accepted that the Kalamukha mahāvrata consisted of the unqualified observance of the five yamas, then it is interesting to note that it was identical with the Jaina version of the mahāvrata for the monks of that religion. Jaini suggests that both the Jaina mahāvrata and the yamas of the Kalamukha school were derived from a common source (Jaini 1991, 38 fn. 9), although it is possible that the adoption of the vow by the Kalamukhas was a result of Jaina influence.

The special stress on celibacy, one of the five great rules (yama), in the Baragur inscription in regard to Dinakara Soma Bhatara would suggest that he was a Kalamukha by affiliation. In Nandi's opinion, his position as an administrator of a temple and monastry would also point to his being a Kalamukha. The Kapalikas by contrast were rarely involved in administrative duties and generally distinguished themselves by orgiastic and gruesome rites in cremation grounds (Nandi 1973, 85–86). However, Lorenzen has cited an inscription from Kolanupaka (Nalgonda district, Andhra Pradesh) of AD 1050, which appears to relate to a Kapalika adminstrator (sthānādhipati) (Lorenzen 1990, 233–35). The Kapalikas, in fact, enjoyed tremendous influence among the ruling elite in the early medieval period (Chattopadhyaya 1994b, 228); it is, therefore, difficult to conclude merely on the basis of his position as an administrator that Dinakara Soma Bhatara was a Kalamukha. In contrast, Chilluka Bhatara, the trustee of Ninneshvaradeva temple, is specifically stated to have followed the Shiva *Āgama* of the Lakulisha sect—a statement that unambiguously identifies him as a Kalamukha (Rice 1904, 12: Si 28).

The Kalamukhas performed the basic acts of reverence *(upacāra)* such as oblation of food or grain (bali, caru), incense (dhūpa) and lamp (dīpa) in their temples, as attested to by the Nandi plates of AD 806 (Seshadri 1965, 17: CB 106). Bali might have signified one of the five great acts of brahmana worship

(pañcamahāyajña), which implied offerings to creatures.[8] If so, it would controvert the view of the Shrivaishnava teachers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, who described the Kalamukhas as anti-Vedic and anti-caste in character (Champakalakshmi 1989, 20). Richard Davis points out that the Shaivāgamas did not reject the Vedas altogether; instead, they appropriated some of the Vedic rituals as a subordinate component within their own system (Davis 1988–89, 51–52).

The Kalamukhas were staunch Shaivas. The Keregodi Rangapura plates (Tiptur taluk, Tumkur district) describe the trustee, Netrashivacharya, as "belonging to the line of pure Shaivism and devoted to Tripurahara who is an embodiment of the triad of gods causing the creation, protection and destruction of the whole world" (Ramesh 1984, 340–49 no. 113). This corresponds to the second principal topic of Kaundinya's exposition of Pasupata doctrine, namely, cause *(kāraṇa)*. God or Ishvara is described as the creator, sustainer and destroyer of the universe with both an immanent and transcendent aspect; in both these he is characterised by unlimited power of knowledge *(jñāna śakti)* and power of action *(kriyā śakti)* (Lorenzen 1972, 134, 190).

Another distinctive Kalamukha-Pashupata tenet was a belief in Shiva's absolute independence. They believed that Shiva was not bound even by human karma; although this belief was later modified by certain groups within the Kalamukha school, its acceptance by the majority shows that for the Kalamukhas, Shiva was an absolutist potentate on whom the devotees were completely dependent for liberation (Lorenzen 1972, 190). Such complete dependence on the deity and the total dedication required of the devotee mirrored the relationship between the lord and the servant in the temporal sphere.

The practice of erecting memorials to preceptors after their death would seem to have been in vogue even among the Shaivas. Thus, the Nelamangala inscription (Nelamangala taluk, Bangalore district) of AD 1029 records the construction of the Siddheshvara temple by Vamanayya, a commander of the forces (daṇḍanāyaka) and minister (mantri) of Yuddhamalladeva, in memory of his

[8] The pañcamahāyajñas later underwent modifications and were recommended for sudras as well (Jaiswal 1979–80, 43).

guru Mauni Bhattaraka (Rice 1905, 9: Nl 1). Memorial shrines were constructed for heroes who perished in battle as well, but there was a certain difference: individuals like Nolamba Mahendra and Dadiga Gāvuṇḍa fell in the category of *bhubhukṣu* or seekers of worldly benefits, whose souls transmigrated to newly emitted bodies after death. Mauni Bhattaraka's attainment of final emancipation (siddhi), on the other hand, implied, according to the Shaivāgamas, his passage from bondage *(bandhatva)* to salvation (mōkṣa). The soul, freed of its fetters, regained its innate character of *shivatva* (Shiva-ness)(Davis 1988–89, 41–42). The identification of the guru with the deity was thus complete, and the construction of the Siddheshvara temple was then an apt memorial. This practice also reflected the growing tendency among the Shaivas of deifying their preceptors.

Vaishnavism

In comparison with Jainism and Shaivism, Vaishnavism enjoyed much less support among the landed elites of the period. Rachamalla I Ganga is one of the few rulers in the second phase who is described as a devotee of Vishnu; even in this case, however, the Perjjarangi grant charter (Krishnarajanagar taluk, Mysore district) registers a land grant for a śrōtrīya brahmana and not a temple (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: Kn 49). Moreover, Rachamalla I appears to have been a Jaina by faith; it is possible that the donee of the Perjjarangi grant was a Vaishnava and that Rachamalla, in order to refrain from hurting his sentiments, and perhaps to win his support, is described as a Vaishnava himself. A similar policy was adopted by Anantavarman Chodagangadeva, who was personally Shaiva by conviction but whose records depict him as *Parama-Maheshvara* or *Parama-Vaishnava* according to the religious persuasion of the donee (Stietencron 1978, 22–23). This shows that sectarian differences based on special devotion to a Jaina, Shaiva or Vaishnava deity did not have a corresponding segregative reflection on the social base. Hence, husband and wife could be devoted to different deities, and a devotee of Shiva could also be described as a devotee of Vishnu.

There are few references in inscriptions to Vaishnava shrines in southern Karnataka prior to the advent of the Cholas. An inscription from Kalkunda (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore

district) from the close of the ninth century mentions the deity Narayanasvami, for whom Duggayya of Edakolageri granted some pasture land *(pasalam)* to the west of Belavakale (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 249). The location of the temple and the social status of the donor are both not discernible from the record.

Another temple to Vishnu was constructed by Divalabbarasi, the Nolamba queen of Kadamba extraction, who had also commissioned the Nolamba Narayaneshvara temple at Avani. This Vishnu temple was situated at Peraramangala (Rice.1905, 10: Mb 38). A temple to Vishnu was constructed by the son of Tagarache's Ur-oḍeya of Tagarache, Pērbārva Madhavayya. The location of this temple is not specified in the inscription of AD 1027 (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 53), but it is possible that it was situated at Tagarache (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) itself. The deity of this shrine, Narayanadeva, received the grant of the rent-free holding (mannēya) of Kudigere as abhyantara siddhi, probably from Nanni Shantara Annaladeva, the ruler of Santalige-1000 and Koda nāḍu-30.

Several Vishnu temples appear to have been established in southern Karnataka after the establishment of Chola rule. The major shrines were those of Iravikula-māṇikka-viṇṇagar-āḷvār at Tadimalingi (Mysore district) (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 227, 229, etc), Jayangoṇḍa Śōḷa-viṇṇagar-āḷvār at Manalur (Bangalore district) (Rice 1905, 9: Cp 127, 129, etc.), the Aprameyasvami temple at Malur (Bangalore district) (Krishna 1942, nos. 5 and 6) and the Rājāśraya-viṇṇagar-āḷvār temple at Marehalli (Mandya district) (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ml 160). A perusal of grants made for these shrines indicates that prime support for Vaishnavism came from the assemblies of agrahāras as well as other temple managements. Thus, the Iravikula-māṇikka-viṇṇagar-āḷvār temple was endowed out of the treasury of the Periya-Kundavai-āḷvār témple (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 230). Apart from the assemblies mentioned earlier, the feudatories of the Cholas such as Daṇḍanāyaka Panchavan Manukunakesari *Mārāyan* (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 233) and *Perundanam Sēnāpati* Kuravan Ulugalandan Rajendra Sola Jayamur *Nāḍāḷvan* (1976, 5: TN 229) also made donations for the ritual requirements of Vishnu temples. The local body of the town, the Nagarattār of Jananathapuram, acted as the trustee for the gifts to the Iravikula-māṇikka-viṇṇagar-āḷvār, but it is interesting to note that they did not make grants themselves.

It is also noteworthy that these subordinates of the Cholas were not local men but were brought from Tamil Nadu; their endowments to the Vishnu temples would indicate that the Tamil members of the Shrivaishnava community took an active interest in furthering the cause of Vaishnavism in southern Karnataka, perhaps with the encouragement of their suzerains. The Cholas, however, do not themselves make any grants for these Vaishnava shrines, whereas they actively patronised the Kolaramma temple enshrining the saptamātṛkas at Kolar, granting the income from the revenue of several villages in Kuvalala nāḍu for that temple (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 112(a), 111).

Apart from the temples mentioned in inscriptions, notice may also be taken of the various Vaishnava icons that have been assigned to this period by art historians in the Archaeological Survey of Mysore reports. These icons reveal the various forms in which Vishnu was worshipped in the region. At Suttur (Mysore district) the Narayanasvami temple enshrines an image of Varadaraja, which has been assigned to the Ganga period (Krishna 1944, 19). This image, in high relief, has its front hands disposed in the poses *(mudrā)* of offering protection *(abhaya)* and granting boons *(varada)* while the back hands hold the discus (cakra) and conch *(śaṅkha)*. The mace *(gadā)* is in the background behind the right front arm. The image wears a tall, tumbler-shaped crown *(kirīṭa)* and is adorned with a necklet, sacred thread *(yajñōpavīta)*, a girdle and bracelets. Similarly, the Varadaraja temple at Maddur (Mandya district), which is either a pre-Chola or an early Chola structure, enshrines an image of Janardana holding a lotus *(padma)*, discus (cakra), conch (śaṅkha) and mace (gadā) (Nilakantha Sastri 1946, 11).

Another late-Ganga Vishnu temple was situated at Hangala (Mysore district). Although this Varadaraja temple now enshrines a Hoysala-period image, the original image is to be found in the navaraṅga maṇḍapa of the temple. This icon of Madhava has its front right hand disposed in offering protection (abhaya) pose (mudrā), while the two back hands hold the discus (cakra) and conch (śaṅkha); the front left hand holds a lump of butter—an iconographic feature with no parallels (Krishna 1937, 17–18) but which perhaps evokes the pastoral Krishna. The image has been assigned to the tenth century on stylistic grounds.

The Kodandarama temple at Hiremagalur (Chikmagalur district) was probably first built in AD 879 but was almost entirely

reconstructed in the Hoysala period. At the southern end of the temple enclosure is an image of Madhava, which has been assigned to the Ganga period. Three of its hands hold a lotus (padma), discus (cakra) and conch (śaṅkha), while the fourth is placed on the thigh *(kaṭihasta)* (Krishna 1931, 22).

The structure of the Yoga Narasimha temple at Macheri (Chikmagalur district) is datable to c. AD 900 on stylistic grounds; unfortunately, the original image is lost and has been replaced by a thirteenth-century icon of Yoga Narasimha with crossed legs tied by a broken cloth or band *(yōgapaṭṭa)*, forehands freely resting on the knees and back hands holding the conch (śaṅkha) and discus (cakra). The main image is supported by small figures of his consorts on either side. The ten incarnations *(daśāvatāra)* of Vishnu are carved on the halo *(prabhāvaḷi)*. It is not known how far this image resembles the original icon (Krishna 1942, 56–57).

The remaining instances of Vaishnava icons all belong to the eleventh century AD. Of these the Yoga Narasimha temple at Agara (Yelandur taluk, Mysore district) enshrines a beautiful image of the deity seated in a yōga posture with its legs tied by a yōgapaṭṭa. The two front hands are resting freely on the knees while the two back hands hold the discus (cakra) and conch (śaṅkha). It is open-mouthed, showing its tongue and fangs, but in a peaceful mood. A small Lakshmi is etched on the right breast and a third eye adorns the forehead (Krishna 1938, 26).

Another Yoga Narasimha temple of the Chola period is situated at Dadaga (Mandya district). The main image of Yoga Narasimha is seated in the yōga pasture with knees tied in the yōgapaṭṭa, the forehands rest on the knees while the other hands hold the discus (cakra) and conch (śaṅkha). The face and mane are well wrought and the expression is peaceful (Krishna 1940, 54–55).

A temple to Narasimha is situated at Marehalli (Mandya district) and is referred to as the Rājāśraya-viṇṇagar-āḷvār in inscriptions (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ml 160). The main image of this temple depicts the deity seated in a comfortable yōga posture *(sukhāsana)* with Lakshmi on his lap. It is depicted with an open mouth but a peaceful expression. The deity's back hands hold the discus (cakra) and conch (śaṅkha), while the right front hand is disposed in the pose (mudrā) of offering protection (abhaya) and the front left holds Lakshmi's arm. Lakshmi holds a lotus in

her left hand while her foot rests on a lotus (padma) near which a water pot *(kalaśa)* is placed. The festooned decoration (tōraṇa) of the image is serpentine, with the ten incarnations of Vishnu depicted on the edge (Krishna 1938, 39–40). The *Report* does not specify the incarnations.

While the Narasimha temples at Dadaga, Agara and Marehalli are situated in areas that came under Chola domination in the early eleventh century, the Chintamani Narasimha temple at Kubatur (Shimoga district) depicts the deity in a form peculiar to the Shimoga district: the image is two-handed, and sits with the right knee folded up and the left in the lotus posture (padmāsana). The face is that of a natural lion (Krishna 1941, 100). The period of this image is probably late Chalukyan (eleventh or twelfth century), although this has not been clearly stated by the editor, Krishna.

In conclusion, the peculiar image of Janardana found at Palya (Hassan district), which has been assigned to the eleventh century, should be mentioned. The image is standing equally balanced on both feet posture *(samabhanga)* and holds the moving discus *(prayōga cakra)* and conch (śaṅkha) in its back hands. One of the forehands is disposed in the pose (mudrā) of offering protection (abhaya) while the other is placed on the thigh (kaṭihasta). It wears a crown made up of matted locks *(jaṭamakuṭa)* (a characteristic of Shiva), earrings in the shape of the mythical sea monster *(makara kuṇḍala)* (associated with Krishna) the sacred thread (yajñōpavīta), a cloth worn over the private parts *(kaupīna)*, gracefully flowing bells *(ghaṇṭa)*, armlets, wristlets, anklets and necklaces. The form thus depicted is said to represent the three aspects of the ultimate Godhead *(trimurti)*: the matted locks *(jaṭā)* indicating Shiva, the bells (ghaṇṭa) indicating Brahma and the conch (śaṅkha) and discus (cakra) indicating Vishnu (Krishna 1942, 21).

The above survey reveals that Vishnu was most often depicted in southern Karnataka as a four-armed deity bearing the conch (śaṅkha), discus (cakra), mace (gadā) and a lotus (padma). The god was usually portrayed in the standing posture with the various attributes; the conch and discus are invariably associated with him, while the other two symbols are sometimes left out to depict him instead as extending protection and boons to the devotee. The Palya image of Janardana represents this class in its most

developed form, as it portrays the deity encompassing the supreme Trinity. It is possible that these Vishnu images foreshadow those of the Hoysala period, during which images corresponding to the twenty-four chief names of Vishnu (Gopinatha Rao 1915, vol. 1 pt. 1: 227) were sculpted in Vaishnava temples.

Narasimha was the other popular form in which Vishnu was worshipped, with the Yoga Narasimha becoming the most frequently worshipped icon in the period of Chola rule in southern Karnataka. According to T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Yoga Narasimha is another name for the Girija Narasimha, a variety of image that conceives of the deity as coming forth from a mountain cave (Gopinatha Rao 1915, vol. 1 pt. 1: 149–50). This aspect of Narasimha seems to have been the most suitable for the Hinduisation of tribal deities. Accentuating this is the Tantric character of Narasimha, often worshipped together with Lakshmi, who alone had the power to appease him and with whom he had an amorous relationship (Eschmann 1978b, 111). Although the Yoga Narasimha images studied above depict him with Lakshmi (as at Macheri and Marehalli) or with Lakshmi etched on his breast (as at Agara) and thus epitomise the Tantric character of the god, the deity's fierce aspect, which is a major component of the Girija Narasimha form (Eschmann 1978b, 106), is not brought out except at Agara, where the image is adorned with a third eye on the forehead, an attribute of Shiva in his fierce form. It has been suggested earlier that the Yoga Narasimha images might have developed as the result of Jaina and Shaiva influences, with their strong emphasis on meditation and yōga; certainly the yōgapaṭṭa adorning the Yoga Narasimha images bring to mind the standard depiction of Jaina self-mortification on the tombs at Shravanabelgola (Settar 1986, 126). However that may be, the theriomorphic form of this deity, particularly as in the Chintamani Narasimha of Kubatur, would indicate that it was seen as a powerful agent of Hinduisation; an assumption that was amply validated by its subsequent popularity.

Sculptural friezes in temples depicting Puranic legends relating to Vishnu, the few icons of Vishnu in the temples of this region and contemporary literary works reveal an awareness of Vaishnava mythology and iconography in this region, at least among the literati in society. Thus, the iconographic conception of Vishnu as the four-armed deity who bore the conch, discus and mace

(Anantharangachar 1977, IX.30) and as reclining on Ananta on the ocean of milk (1977, IV.58, IX.44) finds mention in the *Pampa Bhārata*. The childhood exploits of Krishna the cowherd (Anantharangachar 1977, IX.44), of Krishna the slayer of demons such as Khara and Dhenuka (1977, V.68) and the subduer of the serpent Kaliya (1977, V.54) are also referred to here. Ranna's *Gadāyuddham* describes Krishna as one of the Trinity *(tripuruṣa)*, the Original Deity *(ādidēva)*, the Destroyer of Demons *(asuradhvaṁsi)* and Preceptor of the World *(jagadguru)* (Kulkarni 1985, II.43). The ten incarnations (avatāra) of Vishnu, such as the fish *(animeṣādi)*, are also mentioned here (Kulkarni 1985, III.44). Pampa specifically mentions the Trivikrama legend in connection with Krishna displaying his form encompassing the Universe *(virāṭarūpa)* in the Kaurava court (Anantharangachar 1977, IX.60).

That this awareness was not translated into the adoption of the Vaishnava cult by the upper classes can perhaps be attributed to the fact that both the Shaivas and the Jainas borrowed elements from Vaishnava mythology and gave it a subordinate place in their *weltanschauung*. Since sustenance, the function of Vishnu in the three aspects of the Godhead (trimūrti) concept was also attributed to Shiva by the Pashupatas and Kalamukhas, Vishnu clearly had a subordinate place in their world-view. Indeed, in the *Shiva Purāṇam* and *Liṅga Purāṇam* versions of the Narasimha myths, Shiva as Śarabha destroys Narasimha and merges Vishnu into himself (Soifer 1991, 90–91).

The Jainas included the nine Baladevas and nine Vasudevas among their sixty-three eminent proponents (śalākāpuruṣa). While they produced their own versions of the Vaishnava epics (Jha 1978, 16), the subordination of the Vaishnava elements in their hierarchy is suggested by the fact that the nine Vasudevas, including Krishna, are usually depicted as descending to hell on their death and only gradually working their way up to final liberation (Nagarajayya 1982, verse 74, IX.39; Kulkarni 1975, 363).

Although the Vaishnavas also conceived of Vishnu as a supreme, all-encompassing deity, this cult could not match either Jainism or Shaivism in popularity. The lack of a monastic order was probably a major factor in the low penetration levels of Vaishnavism; while the Jaina and Shaiva ascetics actively propagated their faith,

the Vaishnavas lacked this influential class of votaries. By failing to win over devotees and expand the sect they thus lagged behind Jainism and Shaivism in the construction of temples.

The lack of a monastic order probably led to the growth of a managerial cadre in Vaishnava temples in the early medieval period. The existence of such a cadre is revealed in the Narayanaswamy temple inscription at Malurpatna (Channapatna taluk, Bangalore district) of AD 1014, which records that the assembly (sabhā) of Solamadevi Caturvedimangalam received from the temple servants (kanmigaḷ) of Jayangoṇḍa Śōḷa-viṇṇagar-āḻvār temple 320 measures *(kaḷam)* of paddy from the temple treasury. As interest, the assembly was to provide specified amounts of paddy to the temple twice annually (Rice 1905, 9: Cp 129). The temple servants of this record appear to have been more concerned with the management of temple endowments than with the worship of the deity (Nandi 1973, 29). They are also mentioned in several other records registering grants of land to the same temple (Rice 1905, 9: Cp 132, 128 of AD 1007, Cp 133 of AD 1030), but their functions are not clearly specified in these inscriptions. While there is no reference to temple servants (kanmigaḷ) in any other inscription, there is evidence of the existence of treasuries in the Vaishnava temples of the early eleventh century, which might have necessitated the presence of a separate managerial cadre (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 230 and 227).

Cults of the Mother-goddesses

It has been seen earlier that the concept of the mother-goddess was to some extent incorporated into Shaivism as the consort of Shiva and an aspect of his all-encompassing nature. However, separate temples to the mother-goddess also existed. One such example is provided in the Manne plates (Nelamangala taluk, Bangalore district) of Rachamalla I of AD 828 (Settar 1976–77, 3: 33–34 no. 4), which record the establishment of a temple to the goddess Kiḻta-bāḷ-eṛetti Bhaṭāri (goddess famed for her sharp, drawn sword). She has been identified as a form of Śakti by R. Narasimhachar. The temple was situated in the Doddavadi village in the Manya viṣaya, and the village itself was granted for the food offering (bali), incense (dhūpa) and lamp (dīpa) of the

deity. The grant was entrusted to Deva Sharman, a Vaikhanasa. The deity appears to have been a fierce form of the mother-goddess and was probably tribal in origin, but the cult by this time was apparently well-integrated into the folds of Puranic Hinduism, as seen by the fact that the basic acts of reverence (upacāra) at least appear to have been performed regularly.

Such unambiguous information is not available for the cults of the goddess Bhattaraki of Ponriduki (Tumkur district) (Ramesh 1984, 238–39 no. 64) and Bhagavati of Puttur (Kolar district) (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 230). Both received grants from the local rulers in the eighth century; however, whether these were fully brahmanical cults with canonical worship or merely local cults of some importance that were being promoted by the local rulers in the process of Hinduisation is open to conjecture (Eschmann 1978a, 82–84).

No such doubts arise in the case of the temple of Bhalari at Piriyaholma (Mysore district). The Śakti Pariṣe sub-sect of the Kalamukhas probably sponsored the construction of this purely Śakti shrine of Bhalari-Mahadevar-Bhagavati for which the Twelve of Piriyaholma and Ayyapa Gāvuṇḍa made a gift of land free of taxes. Contributions from the land of each okkal and a pair of bullocks were also levied for the temple, and the gifts were entrusted to Kuchi Bhatara, the disciple of Balashakti Bhatara of the Śakti Pariṣe in AD 977 (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 294). The fact that the temple was under the management of the Kalamukhas clearly indicates that the worship of the goddess conformed to the Hindu canon.

Another major shrine of a mother-goddess was located at the Jayaṅgoṇḍa Śōḷa Caturvedimangalam, an agrahāra in Kaivara nāḍu (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 26). The goddess Chamundeshvari of this agrahāra was recognised as the guardian deity of the nāḍu as a whole, and the Nadu assembly (Nāṭṭār) bound themselves to provide one goat per inhabitant every Tuesday to the goddess. Evidently, blood sacrifices were regularly offered to the goddess, and on a large scale. That this was done in a temple in an agrahāra is surprising, for normally brahmanical cults are not associated with blood sacrifices. In respect of this, however, Eschmann has pointed out that in some cases blood sacrifices are made to the original symbol of the deity, while the main, Hinduised

deity, represented by the anthropomorphic image, is sheltered from the blood sacrifice by closing the door of the temple (Eschmann 1978a, 90).

Fuller is of the opinion that the practice of blood sacrifices and the independent character of a goddess are interconnected. He observes that single goddesses generally tend to be fierce, bloodthirsty and unpredictably angry and aggressive; they prefer meat offerings and blood sacrifices and possess people either ritually or through the infliction of illness. Goddesses with male consorts, on the other hand, are normally pacific, infrequently angry or aggressive, accept only vegetarian offerings and rarely possess human beings. The fierceness and aggressive power of the independent goddesses, in his opinion, is derived from their chastity and asceticism, which generate heat and power involving anger and aggression (Fuller 1980, 327).

While Fuller's explanation in terms of Hindu mythological notions is valid to some extent, it is worth noting that all the features described by him as characteristic of independent goddesses are basic to aboriginal cult deities (Eschmann 1978a, 81–82). Nandi's linking of blood offerings to the goddess to the process of aboriginal assimilation appear in this respect to be more apt: tribals worshipped the deity with blood rites, and these were continued when her worship was adopted by brahmanical groups. Thus, the *Dēvī Māhātmya* and *Kālikā Purāṇam* advocate that offerings of blood and flesh be made to the deity from the devotees' own bodies (Nandi 1973, 142–43). It is probable that this practice is the one depicted in the Draupadi Ratha at Mahabalipuram, and in the Singavaram (at Gingee) and Pullamankai (at Thanjavur) temples in Tamil Nadu (Hiltebeitel 1988, 1: 318–20). The Tamil versions of the *Mahābhārata* incorporate the sacrifice of Aravan, the son of Arjuna and Ulupi, before the altar of Kali; this story is also presented in the form of a Terukkuttu drama during the festival of Draupadi, wherein Aravan sacrifices himself in a pre-war rite, which included the *Āyudha pūja*, to ensure victory to the Pandavas. A ritual enactment of this story, also performed during the festival, involves the priests and members of the local community worshipping Aravan and thén administering cuts on the effigy to indicate his self-mutilation and ultimate sacrifice (Hiltebeitel 1991, 2: 289–99).

Other hints as to the aboriginal roots of the worship of independent goddesses can be gleaned in the *Āryāstava*, which characterises a goddess as *surā-māṁsabali-priyā* (delighting in offerings of flesh and wine) (Nandi 1973, 142), and in the *Dēvī Māhātmya*, in which the goddess is said to have had a draught of wine before slaying Mahishasura. In the buffalo sacrifice carried out in village festivals, a pot of toddy may be set before the goddess prior to the sacrifice (Hiltebeitel 1980, 190–91).

That the mother-goddess was generally associated with blood sacrifices in the *Purāṇa*s themselves might explain the presence of this ritual in a temple situated in an agrahāra. Another factor which might explain the prevalence of blood sacrifices in temples is the widespread influence of Tantrism in the early medieval period. Tantrism, as seen earlier, adopted many aboriginal rituals such as blood sacrifices, the worship of mystic diagrams (yantra), etc., and these were focused on mother-goddesses such as Chamundeshvari and the saptamāṭṛkas, and the Jaina yakṣis. While the prevalence of blood rites has been attested to by the Sulidenahalli inscription (Kolar taluk, Kolar district) cited above (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 26), the use of yantra stones to invoke the goddess is brought out by one such stone inscribed in tenth-century characters, found in the vicinity of the Ramasvami temple at Bannur. The meaning of the inscription is unclear, but it is probably a mystic incantation (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 49). Similarly, the Kolaramma temple and an adjoining subsidiary shrine both enshrine images of saptamāṭṛkas. The temple was under the control of Tamil Shiva-brahmanas and enjoyed the patronage of the Chola suzerains (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 111, 112[a]). This representative evidence clearly shows that Tantric rites appear to have been very popular in the region in the early medieval period.

It has been noted above that the saptamāṭṛkas were the foci of Tantric cults in this period; however, whether this held good for the above-mentioned Kolaramma temple is not clear from the evidence. It is interesting to note that in Champakalakshmi's opinion, Shiva-brahmanas were those temple priests who had earlier been priests of a local cult (Champakalakshmi 1981, 421), although the evidence on which she draws this conclusion is not clearly stated. In the Chola period, at all events, the Shiva-brahmanas

had a gōtra affiliation and were clearly recognised as brahmanas (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 106[a]). The two Shiva-brahmanas mentioned in the Kolaramma temple inscriptions of the early eleventh century, Sornapuliyan and Vinakkalan, were clearly Tamils and not local Kannadigas. If Champakalakshmi is right in viewing them as having been drawn from aboriginal priesthood, it is possible that the rituals followed in the Kolaramma temple had aboriginal elements. Inscriptions, how-ever, refer merely to offerings of perpetual lamps *(vilakku)* and arrangements made to meet the expenses of this ritual (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 106[a] and Kl 112[f]).

Another saptamātṛka temple was situated at Suttur (Mysore district) and was designated the Sutturamma temple in an inscription of AD 1032 (Krishna 1944, 19–20). The temple appears to have been endowed by the wife of a merchant, who also had two Shaiva temples constructed at Suttur. The inscription does not clearly state who worshipped at the mother-goddess shrine, but it is possible that the Kalamukha, Brahmalingi Bhatara, who managed the other Shaiva temples of Suttur also controlled the Sutturamma temple (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 215).

The popularity of the cults of the mother-goddesses at the temple level in the region ascribable to the period under study is evident from the large number of images of Mahishasuramardini Durga and the saptamātṛkas. Part of this popularity was due to the fact that such a goddess was regarded as the bestower of victory in battle. The cult was, therefore, promoted by kings and feudatories. Some lineages, such as the Kadambas and Chalukyas, adopted the saptamātṛkas as their tutelary deities (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 33, 571), while a lord of Banavasi-12,000 is described as the obtainer of a boon from Chamundeshvari (1902, 7: Sk 125). Much later the Navarātra and Daśara festivals, with their elaborate buffalo and goat sacrifices in honour of Durga as the goddess of victory (Vijaya), formed one of the most important royal festivals of the Vijayanagara dynasty (Hiltebeitel 1988, 1: 44–45) and its successor states, including the Wodeyars of Mysore.

There were also local goddesses, such as Mari, who were probably worshipped at a more plebeian level. Almost certainly the mode of worship differs little from that of the modern period, where their festivals are celebrated by the entire village community as and when the need to propitiate them to ward off evil,

particularly epidemic diseases, arises (Whitehead 1973, 16; Brubaker 1979, 130). Blood offerings of buffaloes and goats are generally made by the community, and the officiating priests are usually drawn not from among the brahmanas but the lower castes, particularly the potters, barbers, washermen or untouchables, who are the primary ritual-service castes in the villages (Brubaker 1979, 131ff; Beane 1977, 37). The presence of the deity is conveyed through a medium, who in the trance of possession communicates with the devotees. However, the epigraphic and other sources provide limited evidence on the worship of these local goddesses. Mari is the only local goddess that can be identified, and she is merely conceived of as a terrifying, destructive deity (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 164; 1977, 6: Sr 78); whether she was also perceived as the deity who unleashed smallpox, as she is today, is still unclear, although it was very likely the case.

Cults of the Deified Dead

The practice of worshipping the dead can be traced back to the Sangam period. The Sangam works speak of the divine as dwelling in hero-stones (*vīrakal* or *nāṭukal*), which commemorated heroes killed in battle. These stones, which were worshipped by warriors going to battle, were set up under a shady tree and were decorated with flowers and peacock feathers and enclosed in a canopy of cloth. The hero's spear and shield were placed close to it. The spear and peacock feathers suggest links with the worship of Murugan, the Tamil god par excellence, in whom Sangam ideals of beauty, love and heroism were personified on a divine plane (Thapar 1981, 301). Murugan was worshipped with flower garlands and music. He could also induce possession not only in the shaman *(vēlan)*, but also in any individual dancing the *veriyāṭu*, the dance of wild frenzy, in worship (Hardy 1983, 133–34).

Music and dance serving as a catalyst for possession is even now a central feature of modern local cults of the deified dead such as the Teyyam in north Kerala, the Vilpattu in southern Tamil Nadu and Paddana of coastal Karnataka. A narration of the deity's story is a primary feature of all these cults. The narrative high point of these performances is the death of the hero—a point

at which the deified dead possesses his human mediums. The principal reason for this appears to be the fact that their deification was a result of their untimely and often violent death (Blackburn 1985, 258).

K. K. N. Kurup, in his study of memorial stones in Kerala, distinguishes between the practice of erecting hero-stones and the cult of Teyyam, with its possession rituals. He observes that the former existed only up till the thirteenth century, after which it appears to have been given up; in its stead, the cult of Teyyam developed, incorporating within itself the worship of several folk heroes. The practice of worshipping the dead thus passed into the realm of the performing arts (Kurup 1982, 243–50). This also appears to be the case with the adjoining district of South Kanara, where a few memorial stones have been found (Settar 1986, 187). Here the deified heroes such as Koti and Chennayya are worshipped in festivals that combine music, dance and possession. However, in both the Teyyam and the Bhuta cults, the insignia of the deified spirit, such as a sword and spear, are placed on a wooden pedestal *(pitham)* within a place of worship (*sthānaṁ* or *sāna*), which is a plain, rectangular, windowless structure adjoined by an open portico with twin pillars. The structure of the sthānaṁs is reminiscent of Megalithic chamber tombs (Settar 1986, 190), while the placing of the sword or spear recall the Sangam practice of arranging a spear before the hero-stone. Strong continuities from the Megalithic and Sangam periods thus mark the modern cults of the deified dead; it remains to be seen whether the distinction made by Kurup for early medieval southern Karnataka between the erecting of hero-stones and the observance of festivals involving possession can be sustained on the basis of evidence.

The custom of erecting hero-stones for heroes who fell in battle is first attested to by the Kallur hero-stone (Shrinivaspur taluk, Kolar district), which commemorates the death of Pabhu in the battle of Rakkasanuru in the sixth century (Ramesh 1984, 109–10 no. 28). The practice seems to have become more popular and widespread in the second phase: hero-stones, both purely commemorative and donative, dating to the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries, were erected in their hundreds throughout the region under study as it came to be believed that the hero slain in battle was transported to heaven by the nymphs *(apsara)* eager

for union with him. This belief is depicted on hero-stones, which by the eleventh century were usually carved in three panels—the lowest depicting a battle, the middle showing the hero being transported to heaven by one or two angels and the third with the hero in heaven, sometimes worshipping the liṅga (Krishna 1942, 201).[9] Literary works such as the *Pampa Bhārata* (Anantharangachar 1977, X.45), Ranna's *Gadāyuddham* (Kulkarni 1985, IV.21–22) and the *Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇam* (Sannayya and Gowda 1988, I.48) also attest to this belief. The Sangam practice of warriors seeking the blessings of a slain hero is also expressed in Ranna's *Gadāyuddham*, wherein Duryodhana pays his respects to the mortal remains of Abhimanyu and prays for a fraction of his valour and a heroic death to match (Kulkarni 1985, IV.57).

Beyond these few references, though, there is very little information on the rituals of the worship of hero-stones. The one hero-stone to mention such worship is the Atakur inscription (Madhur taluk, Mandya district), which specifically states that the Gōrava ruling the Challeshvara temple in front of which the memorial stone was set up must worship the stone before taking his meal (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Mu 42). This would imply that the hero-stone was worshipped daily, and since the worship was carried out by Shaiva ascetics, it probably consisted of the basic acts of reverence (upacāra) of offering sandal, incense, lamp, flowers and food.

To understand what form the worship of hero-stones might have taken, it may be instructive to examine the rituals associated with Aravan, the self-sacrificing hero of the cult of Draupadi. The priest of a local Draupadi temple offers worship *(dīpārādhanā)* to the effigy of Aravan with lighted camphor. Then, administering a few cuts to the effigy and gouging open a pumpkin to represent his self-mutilation and sacrifice, he flings up rice mixed with blood to feed Aravan (Hiltebeitel 1991, 2: 291–92). Such blood rites may not have been followed by the Gōrava at Atakur, as it would

[9] Inscriptions also bear this out. See, for instance, Rice 1904, 8: Sb 22 of the eighth century and Rice 1904, 12: Si 26 of the tenth century, which both mention the hero being carried to heaven by the heavenly nymphs *(suravadhū)*.

have violated his basic vow of ahiṁsā, but in the case of Akatega, whose self-sacrifice is recorded in a hero-stone at Hecche (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 479), a rite similar to that observed for Aravan may well have been followed. Akatega's sacrifice was made to ensure an heir for his lord. The king, Shantivarman-arasa of Herdese, then made a grant that was entrusted to the Mahājanas of Elase, in all probability for the maintenance of the rituals at the memorial. It has been seen in the instance of the Chamundeshvari temple at Jayaṅgoṇḍa Śōḷa Caturvedimangalam that blood sacrifices could be performed even in temples located in agrahāras. In the case of the Hecche hero-stone, the memorial is not stated to be located in the agrahāra, nor were the Mahājanas the officiating priests; they were merely responsible for ensuring the maintenance of the memorial. This being the case, the possibility of the Hecche hero-stone being worshipped in a fashion similar to that of Aravan cannot be ruled out.

While the Atakur and the Hecche hero-stones relate to the worship offered to the hero-stone itself, the Tonachi inscription (Krishnarajapete taluk, Mandya district) from the close of the tenth century records the grant of thirty koḷagas of land made by the *Pĕrālke Heggaḍe* and the Gāvuṇḍa of Tolanje for the festival *(parba nimittam)* of Ankakaradeva (Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Kr 51). An *aṅkakāṟa* is a leading hero or an influential servant of a lord (Kittel 1986, q.v. *Aṅkakāṟa*). The reference to the festival might imply a narration of the hero's story, as in modern hero cults. The Tonachi epigraph is apparently not a hero-stone, and mentions, in addition to the Ankakaradeva, Mahadeva and Moriyadeva as well. It is possible that the aṇkakāṟa was enshrined in a subsidiary shrine within the precincts of the local Shaiva temple. The inscription does not clarify whether the deified hero was represented by a hero-stone or by his insignia, as in the cults of the Bhuta or Teyyam; in any case, if the suggestion that the festival of Ankakaradeva consisted of the narration of his story is accepted, it would mean that early medieval Kannadigas worshipped deified heroes both by setting up memorials and holding possession-centred rituals. Whether these two modes were combined or not cannot be discerned at present.

Another method of deification was the practice of setting up shrines for the deceased (samādhi). This was done both for heroes who perished in battle and for religious preceptors such as Mahendra Kaliyuga Rudra (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 67) and Mauni Bhattaraka (1905, 9: Nl 1). Such a practice of erecting Shaiva temples named after the dead is authorised by the *Āgamas*, which speak of religious edifices in which the deceased were enshrined in the form of a liṅga or a portrait relief. Such shrines were constructed in Tamil Nadu as well, where they were called *paḷḷipaḍai* (Settar 1982, 185).

Māstikals or memorial stones for a *sati* (a widow who follows her husband in death) form another category of memorials erected for the deceased. There are but three instances of sati, and of these only one appears to have been commemorated by a māstikal. This memorial is located Mallandur (Sagar taluk, Shimoga district) and bears a tenth-century inscription. It carries a large figure of a Mahāsati with her right hand raised (Krishna 1941, 74)—a characteristic feature in the depiction of a sati (Chidanandamurthy 1982, 129). An inscription from Kavadi (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of the fifth century records the death of Ravivarman, the son of Mrigeshavarman Kadamba, and his queen *(rājñi)* who was liberated along with him (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 523). This inscription might represent the earliest example of a widow immolating herself on her husband's pyre *(sahagamana)* in this region. Clear evidence of the practice of sati is recorded in Ranna's *Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇam* of the end of the tenth century. This records the self-immolation of Gundamabbe, the sister of Attimabbe, Ranna's patroness, following the death of their husband Nagadeva in battle (Sannayya and Gowda 1988, I.46–48).

The *Pampa Bhārata* depicts the wives of warriors resolving to perform self-immolation on the eve of battle in case of their husbands' deaths (Anantharangachar 1977, X.45). Despite this mention, however, such a practice was not yet popular in this period. Had this been otherwise, it is inconceivable that there should be only one māstikal and one epigraphic reference to a self-immolation in a region where the practice of erecting memorial stones was so widespread.

In sum, the worship of the dead appears to have been a common practice in the region under study in the early medieval

period. The erection of a hero-stone was a major expression of devotion, particularly after the eighth century. These hero-stones were objects of worship, but the details of rites cannot be clearly discerned. There is also a reference to a festival in honour of a deified hero, which after modern parallels probably consisted of a performance of his story. Since the inscription recording this festival was not a hero-stone, it is not clear whether such festivals formed part of the rituals associated with memorial stones. Āgamic Shaivism incorporated the worship of the dead through the custom of erecting Shaiva temples in the names of the deceased, where worship in accordance with Āgamic injunctions was apparently carried out. Both laymen who perished in battle and religious preceptors were thus honoured, though the latter probably enjoyed a higher spiritual status as sages who strived for emancipation *(mumukṣu)*.

Conclusion

The topography and climate of southern Karnataka seem to have favoured a mixed farming regime of cattle- and sheep-herding together with agriculture; the latter was based both on seasonal rainfall patterns and on the development of irrigation projects, principally tanks. Such a system seems to have been the established pattern from the earliest period on in the region under study.

Since the sources primarily record grants for temples, brahmanas or secular assignees, they chiefly mention wet lands, in which paddy was the preferred crop. This type of land was evidently preferred for grants; there are hardly any references in the inscriptions to dry land. In some cases the category of granted land is not specified, but this cannot always be taken as evidence that the gift was of dry land. Millets, sejje and sugarcane also find mention in inscriptions; among the fruits grown, there are references to plantain, areca and coconut plantations. Flower gardens were often granted to temples for their ritual requirements.

Both wet lands (gadde) growing paddy and garden lands (toṭṭa) required irrigation for maintaining high levels of yield. The major source of irrigation was tanks, to which there are innumerable references. Tanks together with channels and natural streams are frequently mentioned in boundary descriptions. They also helped demarcate one field from another. Tank construction was actively undertaken by the ruling elite of every level, from kings, queens and feudatories to the local landed elite such as the gāvuṇḍas and the Mahajanas. There are even some references to the construction of irrigation works by artisans. That tank construction was a major factor in the expansion of agriculture was clearly recognised; consequently, grants of land, or of the yield of land, were made by the rulers to those who constructed tanks for their maintenance. A graduated increase in taxation on newly irrigated lands would seem to denote a desire on the part of the rulers to convert dry lands to wet lands, which clearly had higher yields.

Tank construction was also a major factor in the spread of agricultural settlements, and in all likelihood contributed to the emergence of new hamlets which were then considered part of the larger settlement and its subsidiaries. Literary works associate hamlets or paḷḷis with tribal settlements. This association is not

brought out in inscriptions, except in one case in which a paḷḷi is described as a shepherds' settlement. However, the fact that the majority of the inscriptions referring to hamlets record their grants to secular individuals, temples or brahmanas might indicate a process of subordination as well as acculturation of tribals.

Agriculture and animal husbandry were not mutually exclusive. There is no mention of pastoral nomads except of the Bedas, who may have belonged to this category; beyond their predatory cattle raids, however, there is no evidence to support this contention. It is possible that they, too, might have practised swidden agriculture. Among settled populations, agriculture and pastoralism went hand in hand. Cattle herds were possessed by the gāvuṇḍas, the upper stratum of the peasantry, to judge from references to a gōsāsa gāvuṇḍa and to their frequent participation in cattle raids. Ownership of cattle herds was not restricted to gāvuṇḍas; merchants and artisans, too, possessed cattle, and trade in cattle and milk products might be posited from available evidence.

Descriptions of village boundaries provide the impression that houses were generally situated in the centre of a village. References to streets and houses are few and far between but, in at least one case, it appears that streets were aligned around temples in the four cardinal directions. Such a layout is also indicated in two other instances. A street also appears to have been a discrete social unit, but it is not clear whether the individuals residing there shared an occupational or caste identity, though it would seem that each occupational group had access to different sources of water.

Inscriptions provide considerable information on field layouts, but the details are insufficient for a complete picture. Nevertheless, it would seem that natural features such as hillocks and streams together with tanks and their channels were the chief land-marks used to demarcate one field from another. There are references to open fields (bayal) within which land was granted; it is unclear, however, whether these were similar to the open fields of the agrarian system in medieval Europe. There is also an apparent reference to an enclosed field. References to waste lands, forest lands and pastures are also available, but their location *vis-à-vis* the cultivated fields are not specified. The grants of such

lands to individual beneficiaries would point to the erosion of common rights within a village.

As with rural settlements, the inscriptions provide no clue as to the physical form of urban centres. Fortifications are attested to in the case of Banavasi and Asandi, and temples and houses are mentioned in most cases, but no clear street plan emerges. Literary descriptions, though exaggerated, may be used to fill this gap. Both inscriptions and literary works point to the importance of the capital city, which was considered the domain of the ruler and the centre of the realm. The urban settlement emerges from the sources as the administrative node of the kingdom, which gradually developed, with growing trade and commerce, into a centre of trade. Manufacture and artisanal activity is, in comparison, neglected by these sources, with references to artisans coming chiefly from rural contexts. Temples and monasteries were, in addition to administration and trade, factors of importance in the growth of urban centres.

Larger politico-geographical units were known in the first phase as viṣayas and later as nāḍus. The numerical suffixes appended to them probably signified the number of settlements included in the unit. Nāḍus appear to have been primarily agrarian units that were used by the rulers as administrative units as well. There is hardly any evidence of corporate bodies at the nāḍu level; instead Nāḍu chieftaincies prevailed, with nāl̤gāvuṇḍas holding sway over a nāḍu and participating in the political developments in their region. Pergaḍes, too, have been associated by Stein with nāḍu chieftaincy, but they appear to have been essentially rulers of individual settlements only.

Until the emergence of the Gangas in the fourth century AD, there is no evidence of a state structure in southern Karnataka. Conical clan chiefdoms similar to those of the Vēl̤ir chiefs of the peripheral areas of Tamil Nadu probably existed here during the Megalithic and early historic phases. Southern Karnataka in this period had limited contacts with the neighbouring states in northern Karnataka and the proto-states of Tamil Nadu, but it was probably due to a degree of stimulus provided by their northern neighbours that the Gangas, who were possibly one of the chief clans of the region, established a state towards the end of the fourth century. They adopted all the trappings and insignia of royalty current in that period—a gōtra and kula

affiliation, patronage of brahmanical Hinduism and heterodox faiths for legitimisation of their new-found authority and a royal court and administration modelled on those of their northern neighbours.

The Gangas' earliest base appears to have been the region around Kolar. Over the next two centuries they expanded their realm by conquest and matrimonial alliances to cover the modern districts of Kolar, Bangalore, Tumkur, Mysore, Mandya, Hassan, Chikmagalur, Coorg and the Kongu region of Tamil Nadu. Their relations with the major powers of the region fluctuated: the Paruvi Gangas were clearly subordinate to the Pallavas, but the Talakad Gangas, who supplanted them, appear to have been independent. In the seventh century, the Vatapi Chalukyas claimed to have reduced the Gangas to submission; while the Gangas did not acknowledge any overlord, the fact that they cooperated in Chalukyan campaigns against the Pallavas may indicate their subordinate status. At the same time, Ganga records present them as overlords of an array of subordinates of obscure origins. In the second phase, Ganga hegemony over their dominions, which had come to be designated as Gangavadi, was repeatedly challenged by the Rashtrakutas and then by the Cholas. They also faced serious threats from subordinate lineages such as the Nolambas and Banas, who established themselves in the Eastern division comprising Kolar, Bangalore and Tumkur districts and did not acknowledge Ganga suzerainty.

In the first phase the brahmanas, who were the major recipients of land grants, appear to have helped to establish the administration of the Gangas. It was a result of their pervasive influence that the records of the first phase reflect a patriarchal brahmanical social order. A few chiefs (arasa) are also mentioned, but their role in inscriptions appears limited to the execution of royal grants. Although the patronage of vaidika brahmanas continued in the second phase, they now had to share eleemosynary grants with temples and other sectarian brahmana preceptors who generally acted as trustees of temple grants. The latter not merely administered temple affairs but also exercised powers analogous to those of a lay administrator over the lands and villages granted to the temple. In this sense they formed but one section among many of the landed magnates. The brahmanas represented

the sacred domain and provided a means for the validation of temporal power.

Unlike the first phase with its few references to lay lords, the second phase saw this category of the elite enjoying a numerical preponderance over the brahmanas and temple trustees. The Gangas, Nolambas, Banas, Vaidumbas and other lineages appear to have had enclaves within Gangavadi; the wide geographical distribution of these lineages came about as a result of the partition of lineage territory among members of the royal family, and by conquest, alliance or voluntary submission. Petty rulers of indeterminate or tribal origins formed another section of the variegated ranks of feudatories.

Service assignees who owed military duty to their overlords were a major section of the landed intermediaries. Inscriptions record many instances of subordinates marching to battle at the command of their lord, and receiving grants as rewards for their meritorious service. Unlike in medieval Europe, service assignments were made subsequent to the performance of military service. Literary works indicate that the service assignee was obliged to fight for his lord, an obligation which is termed jōḷada pāḷi.

The uppermost stratum of peasant landholders, the gāvuṇḍas, constituted another section of landed intermediaries. Gāvuṇḍas acted as headmen at both the village and the nāḍu levels. As headmen and local notables they demarcated the boundaries of granted lands and acted as witnesses. Together with the nāḍabōvas, they apparently collected taxes on behalf of the ruler. While the position of a gāvuṇḍa (gāvuṇḍu) could be bestowed by the king as a reward for military service, it was largely heritable by the tenth century. The position of gāvuṇḍu probably came with a complex of rights, including those to land, houses, water and other rights and privileges such as keeping part or all monies collected as taxes. Gāvuṇḍas were bound to their kings by strong ties of dependence: they bore the kings' titles and owed him military service, for which they received lands as reward. They appear to have participated in the factional politics of the period, as some inscriptions from Shimoga bear witness. In sum they were recognised as members of the feudatory hierarchy and are positioned immediately after the Mahāsāmanta ruling a unit.

While individual gāvuṇḍas ruled over villages as headmen, there are also references to their corporate groups, which enjoyed the power to alienate waste lands in favour of individuals and control the settlement of tenants in villages. Like the Mahājanas and the mercantile corporations, these groups also had a militia of their own.

Kings thus did not enjoy a monopoly over military force; while they had their own armies with warriors bound to them personally as a jōḷavāḷi or a vēḷevāḷi, they had perforce to draw on the support of their feudatories and corporate militias for major expeditions. The relationship between the king and his vassal was a fragile one, and the cooperation of the subordinate was dependent on the existing power relations and perceived commonality of interest between the overlord and the vassal.

Most references to taxes in inscriptions occur in the context of remission or grant of income from their proceeds to private individuals or temples. The levying authority was the local ruler in most cases. The nāḍgāvuṇḍas and nāḍabōvas were responsible for the collection of taxes on his behalf, and some inscriptions indicate that they enjoyed a certain portion of these taxes as their perquisite. In lands granted as brahmadēya or kalnāḍ, however, these officials had no function; in these cases the taxes took the form of rent payable to the landlord. Apart from taxes, there is evidence of the impressment of bullocks by the state and by the landlord when these rights were transferred to them by the rulers. Similarly, the rights to levy forced labour, which normally rested with the state, were frequently transferred to private individuals or institutions. Both peasants and artisans were bound by personal ties of bondage to the local lord. However, it is noteworthy that impressions of peasant and artisan bondage emerge more clearly from records of the Western division than of the Eastern. Apart from such means of direct control, landlords also enjoyed control over waste lands and sources of irrigation, by which means they could coerce the peasantry by threatening their means of subsistence.

The cultivating tenants were totally at the mercy of the landlords. They were obliged to perform forced labour, give their bullocks for carting their lords' goods, and pay innumerable taxes to them. They were bound to the soil and to their lords for the duration of their lifetime. While in some cases the state tried to

protect their interests by a precise specification of the nature of the taxes owed to the intermediaries, there was little it could do to prevent abuse beyond deploying ideological sanctions against exploitation. The position of the tenants might, however, have been mitigated somewhat by the existence of representative corporate groups. While such groups, designated in numerical terms, often consisted of gāvuṇḍas, there are references to bodies of tenants such as the Eṇṭokkal of Coorg or Ayvattokkal of Mysore. These groups were required to consent to grants along with the Aysāmantas and the Seventy, which indicates that they wielded some influence even if pre-eminent power was exercised by the landowners. The fact that the gāvuṇḍas were initially drawn from the okkal might also imply that they extended some protection to at least the upper strata of the tenants.

The Cholas used the existing power hierarchy for their purposes, pressing the gāvuṇḍas and other landlords to their service. Their more organised bureaucracy controlled the tax collection in the newly conquered province, and they judiciously employed the mediums of brahmadēya grants and exchange centres (nagaram) as integrative devices. They introduced communities of Shiva-brahmanas and Shrivaishnavas into southern Karnataka, perhaps in an attempt to plant loyal ideologues in Kannada-speaking and Jain-centric Gangavadi. Whatever the means, their control over this region certainly appears to have been stronger than the theory of segmentary state suggests.

In the field of religion, Vedic brahmanas enjoyed the maximum state patronage in the first phase, which led to their emergence as a powerful group in the landed aristocracy. Their participation in administration further strengthened their privileged position. Vedic brahmanism declined in the second phase, but emphasising their lineage or descent from srōtrīya brahmana families living in agrahāras was still sufficient for them to enter government service. Brahmanas also participated in Puranic forms of worship. Mahājanas patronised temples of Vishnu, Shiva and the mother-goddesses; they even constructed shrines for heroes and acted as trustees for such temples.

Jainism was another religion that enjoyed material support in the first phase. That it gained in popularity in the second phase is evident from the construction of a large number of basadis in this region. Jainism derived its support primarily from the upper

echelons of the ruling class. Low-ranking feudatories and small landholders seem to have mainly been followers of Shaivism.

Women of aristocratic families were prominent patrons of Jainism. This appears surprising in view of the fact that the Digambaras, who held sway in this region, assigned women a lower status, holding that they could not achieve salvation in the same birth. It can only be suggested that the women of this period found the Jaina doctrine, that the soul could be freed from its bondage by one's own efforts, more attractive than the rival Kalamukha view that human beings were totally dependent on the grace of Shiva for liberation. The prominence of women among the patrons of Jainism had another consequence: the nuns in practice enjoyed a great deal of influence in this region.

Jaina shrines were by and large simpler than the Shaiva temples, both in their physical structure and organisation. The structure was limited to a sanctum sanctorum (garbhagṛha), a vestibule (sukhanāsi) and the dance hall (navaraṅga maṇḍapa). Subsidiary shrines of subordinate deities and friezes depicting Puranic legends are not attested to in this period. Although the Jinas and the Five Preceptors (pañcaparamēṣṭhin) were the primary deities, the Jainas had begun worshipping yakṣis such as Jvalamalini and Padmavati. These yakṣis were the foci of Tantric cults in the late tenth century.

The Jainas had a strong monastic order from the very beginning, but in the early medieval period they lost their ascetic rigour and settled down permanently in monasteries. Many monks were trustees of Jaina shrines, a development which appears paradoxical in view of their vow of non-possession. An important aspect of the Jaina monastic organisation in this period was the reduced size of many monastic groups—a feature which gives the impression of a great deal of proliferation in the monastic order. As new groups emerged, the unit of organisation was the gaṇa or gaccha, which consisted of three to four members. The preceptor in these groups became all-powerful, and was considered the means of deliverance of his disciples. Adoration of the preceptor grew into a cult of its own, and culminated in the erection of memorial shrines to these teachers.

Shaivism had a wider social base than Jainism and enjoyed the patronage of gāvuṇḍas and corporate groups in addition to high-ranking feudatories. This may partly be due to the fact that it was an entirely temple-based cult and the energies of the monks were

directed purely towards garnering support for temple construction. For the Jainas, temple construction was important, but it represented a deviation from their original stress on rigorous ascetic practices. The Shaivas did not suffer such dilemmas, although their monks, too, followed an ascetic regimen similar to that of the Jainas. Vaishnavism did not enjoy as much support as the other two religions, as evidenced by the fewer number of Vishnu temples in this period.

The inscriptions yield an interesting aspect of the role of religion in the administrative and social fabric of the region. Rulers often expediently described themselves as votaries of the sects to which their donees belonged, even though other records specified that they were devoted to other, particular dieties. This would show that sectarian differences did not have a segregative effect on the social base; husband and wife could be devoted to different deities, and a devotee of Shiva could also be described as a Vaishnava or a Jaina.

Yoga Narasimha among the Vaishnavas and the liṅga for the Shaivas were the most popular icons of the period owing to their acculturative capacity. Similarly, the worship of the mother-goddesses was extremely popular as a result of the process of absorption of tribal cults. Tantric practices involving blood sacrifices, mystic incantations and the worship of mystic diagrams (yantra) and sacred circles (cakra) are attested to in this period and can be attributed to the same cause.

Cults of the deified dead were widespread in the second phase. The erection of hero-stones and the celebration of festivals, which perhaps involved a re-enactment of the deification of heroes, were major expressions of such devotion. Āgamic Shaivism also incorporated the worship of the dead through the erection of Shaiva temples in their name. Both laymen and preceptors were thus honoured, though the latter had a higher spiritual status as sages who strived for emancipation (mumukṣu). The practice of sati was rare in this period, although it is often mentioned in literary works.

Rituals in temples of all sects involved the offering of the basic acts of worship (upacāra) of a lamp, incense, flowers, food and anointing of the deity. The anointing ritual and the aṣṭāhnīka pūjā , an eight-day festival , were very popular among the Jainas. For the Shaivas, Vaishnavas and Shaktas, the offering of a perpetual

lamp and food for the deity were the most important rituals. While Shaiva temples generally had Kalamukha monks as managers, Vaishnava shrines had a separate managerial cadre termed the kanmigaḷ in the early eleventh century.

The decoration of the image of the deity (aṅgabhōga) and the entertainment of the deity (raṅgabhōga) were temple rituals associated with the dēvadāsis, who were modelled after the palace prostitutes. There is no evidence of a similar kind of female servants of the deity in Jaina temples.

The early medieval period in India was marked by the spread of a hierarchical social and political system to various parts of the country. This book has attempted to delineate these processes in the region of south-interior Karnataka, which has been comparatively neglected in the historiography of the early medieval period. Southern Karnataka under the aegis of the Gangas saw the establishment of the state, the growth of social hierarchy and feudal exploitation of peasants by secular and eleemosynary donees, and the development of a distinctive regional culture that was to reach a high point under the Hoysalas in the twelfth century. However, the significance of the earlier, formative period of the Gangas can be seen from the fact that the region gained its name Gangavadi from them, which it retained even after the demise of the dynasty; that the Hoysalas, as heirs to the Ganga legacy, included *Vira Ganga* among their other royal titles speaks volumes for the lasting impact of the Gangas in this region.

Appendix I

Politico-geographical Units in Southern Karnataka

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
1.	Paruvi viṣaya and its sub-division Perati bhōga	Karu-ur	5th century AD	Ramesh 1984, no. 5
2.	Paruvi viṣaya	Malligur grāma	5th to 6th centuries AD	Settar 1976–77, 3: 135 no. 2
3.	Parivi nāḍu	–	8th to 9th centuries AD	Settar 1976–77, 3: 39–40
4.	Paruvi viṣaya	Paruvi	AD 799	Ramesh 1984, no. 50
5.	Perur viṣaya	Kudiliyam grāma	5th century AD	Ramesh 1984, no. 6
6.	Korikunda bhōga	Palli-ur grāma	5th to 6th centuries AD	Ramesh 1984, no. 14
7.	Korikunda viṣaya	Penna-ur grāma	6th century AD	Ramesh 1984, no. 19
8.	Korikunda viṣaya	Cennelkarani grāma. Also a refence to Perur.	6th century AD	Ramesh 1984, no. 12
9.	Korikunda viṣaya	Nallalam grāma	6th century AD	Ramesh 1984, no. 25
10.	Kerekunda-300	–	8th century AD	Rice 1905, 9: Hs 86
11.	Kirukundācci nāḍu	–	AD 1029	Rice 1905, 9: Nl 1
12.	Marukara viṣaya	(i) Kutalur (ii) Perur	5th century AD	Krishna 1930, 259–65

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
13.	Marugare rāṣṭra	Tippur. Also a reference to Melur but it is unclear whether it belonged to this unit.	5th to 6th centuries AD	Ramesh 1984, no. 16
14.	Marukare viṣaya	(i) Panapura grāma (ii) Kolapalli grāma.	5th to 6th centuries AD	Narasimhacharya 1916, 34–35
15.	Marugara (incidental reference)	–	5th to 6th centuries AD	Ramesh 1984, no. 15
16.	Located at Ededinde in Marugare viṣaya	Agali	AD 748	Ramesh 1984, no. 42
17.	Marugare nāḍu	–	8th century AD	Nilakantha Sastri 1958, 16: Tm 98
18.	Marugare nāḍu-300	–	8th to 9th centuries AD	Nilakantha Sastri 1958, 16: Tm 86
19.	Ededinde-70 in Marugare viṣaya	Perjjarangi grāma	AD 819	Gopal et al. 1976, 5: Kn 49.
20.	Marugare nāḍu	–	Saka [?] 188. 9th century characters.	Ramesh 1984, no. 4
21.	Kuvalala rāṣṭra	Kuvalala	5th century AD	Ramesh 1984, no. 157
22.	Kolala viṣaya	–	AD 634	Ramesh 1984, no. 29
23.	Kovalala nāḍu-300	–	8th century AD	Shama Sastri 1926, 34–35
24.	Kuvalala nāḍu-300	Agali	8th century AD	Rice 1905, 10: Mb 80
25.	Kovalala nāḍu-300	–	8th century AD	Rice 1905, 10: Sp 57

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
26.	Kovalala nāḍu	–	8th century AD	Ramesh, 1984, no. 54
27.	Kovalala nāḍu-300	(i) Santanur and (ii) Erediyur referred to, but unclear which unit they belonged to.	8th century AD	Rice 1905, 10: Mb 255
28.	Kovalala nāḍu-300	–	8th to 9th centuries AD	Shama Sastri 1926, 87–88, no. 100
29.	Kuvalala nāḍu in Nigarili-Solamandalam	Surur. Also a reference to Purakuttai, but unclear which nāḍu it belonged to.	AD 991	Rice 1905, 10: Kl 75.
30.	Kuvalala nāḍu in Nigarili-Solamandalam	(i) Kuvalala (ii) Pakkam...	c. AD 997	Rice 1905, 10: Kl 106(c)
31.	Kuvalala nāḍu in Ganga-1,000 [?]	(i) Kuvalala (ii) Araiyur	AD 1006–1007	Rice 1905, 10: Kl 106(b)
32.	(i) Kuvalala nāḍu in Nigarili-Solamandalam alias Nolambavadi (ii) Reference to Tiraimur nāḍu in Uyyakonda valanāḍu in Solamandalam	Kuvalala	AD 1019–20	Rice 1905, 10: Kl 106(a)
33.	Kuvalala nāḍu in Nigarili-Solamandalam	(i) Kuvalala (ii) Pasaipal	AD 1022–23	Rice 1905, 10: Kl 112(a)
34.	Kuvalala nāḍu in Nigarili-Solamandalam	(i) Kuvalala (ii) Piragampalli	c. AD 1028	Rice 1905, 10: Kl 111
35.	Kaivara viṣaya	(i) Chukuttur (ii) Viramangala hamlet	5th century AD	Ramesh 1984, no. 7

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
36.	Kaivara nāḍu	Varukanur	9th to 10th centuries AD	Rice 1905, 9: Hs 12
37.	Kayvara nāḍu	–	c. AD 950	Rice 1905, 9: Hs 37
38.	Kaivara nāḍu in Nigarili-Solamandalam alias Nolambavadi	(i) Jayaṅgoṇḍa śōḷa Caturvedimangalam (ii) Gangapallapura	AD 1017–18	Rice 1905, 10: Kl 26.
39.	Kaivara nāḍu	Vikkiramasolapura	c. AD 1028	Rice 1905, 10: Kl 111
40.	Mudukottur viṣaya	Perbolal grāma. Also a reference to Kumarapura, whose nāḍu is not clearly mentioned.	5th century AD	Rice 1905, 10: Mr 73
41.	Pudoli viṣaya	Kodunjeruvu grāma	5th to 6th centuries AD	Ramesh 1984, no. 15
42.	Pudalnada rāṣṭra	(i) Kolirtur grāma (ii) Redi-ur	6th century AD	Ramesh 1984, no. 21
43.	Pudalnada rāṣṭra	Kodunjeruvu grāma. Also a reference to Korgattur, to which the donees belonged. Not clear which nāḍu it belonged to.	6th century AD	Ramesh 1984, no. 24
44.	Podal nāḍu-60	–	c. AD 880	Rice 1905, 10: Sp 50
45.	Pudal nāḍu in Ganga *sayaram* (1000 [?])	Arumolideva Caturvedi-mangalam	c. AD 1003	Rice 1905, 10: Mb 123

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
46.	Vanne viṣaya and its sub-division Peruka bhōga	Tipperur	6th century AD	Rice 1904, 12: Mi 110
47.	Sendraka viṣaya	Sangamapura	5th century AD	Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Hn 10
48.	Vallavi viṣaya-8,000	(i) Keregalur (ii) Posavalli (iii) Midundavalli (iv) Kacapalli (v) Katullamali	5th century AD	Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Hn 10
49.	Sendraka viṣaya and its sub-unit Vallavi dēśa	Palaccoge grāma. Also references to (i) Anandur and (ii) Sikkamba. The nāḍu is not specified.	7th century AD	Narasimhacharya 1918, 35–36
50.	Devalge viṣaya	Kirumundaniri-nagara	5th century AD	Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Hn 10
51.	Devalige-70	(i) Uppavalli (ii) Muguli (iii) Cannayur (iv) Palmadi (v) Ammale (vi) Kiriyamuguli (vii) Mulevalli (viii) Nallur (ix) Magunda (x) Teguru	AD 959–60	Rice 1901, 6: Cm 42

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
52.	Sindhuthaya rāṣṭra	Ankatataka grāma	5th century AD	Rice 1901, 6: Kd 162
53.	Sinda viṣaya and its sub-unit Manale-alke-300	Belpura in the western part of Manale-alke-300.	AD 750–51	Rice 1901, 6: Mg 36.
54.	Sinda nāḍu-8,000	–	9th century AD	Narasimhacharya 1920, 24
55.	Manale-300	(i) Kannatur (ii) Kadabavalli (iii) Cholayur (iv) Suligodu (v) Kurivalli (vi) Bellur (vii) Biratur (viii) Hemmalige (ix) Hebbarala	AD 1025	Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Al 8
56.	Sindhamma nāḍu	Kellangere	9th to 10th centuries AD	Rice 1902, 5: Ak 99
57.	Tagare janapada	Malavalli	8th century AD	Narasimhacharya 1920, 23
58.	Tagare nāḍu-70, a sub-unit of Sinda nāḍu-8,000	–	9th century AD	Narasimhacharya 1920, 24
59.	Tagare nāḍ	Also a reference to Kogodu, which allied with Tagare-nāḍ to repel an invasion. It was perhaps not a part of the nāḍu.	10th to 11th centuies AD	Krishna 1939, no. 34

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
60.	Pumrastra	–	6th century AD	Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Yl 167
61.	Punnadu-6,000	–	8th to 9th centuries AD	Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 129
62.	Punnada Edenadu viṣaya.	Badaneguppe grāma	AD 808	Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 278
63.	Punnadu and its sub-unit Edenadu-70	Badaneguppe grāma	AD 466 [?] 9th century characters.	Gopal et al. 1972, 1: no. 1
64.	Punnadu-6,000	(i) Banalli (probably included in the nāḍu) (ii) Tarekad (iii) Mayidilage (iv) Posavalli	10th century AD	Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 115
65.	Ede nāḍu	(i) Nagarala (ii) Sakkile (iii) Belgundur (iv) Kiruvelgundur (v) Sattiyur (vi) Singur	10th century AD	Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 239
66.	Ede nāḍu	Piriyaholma	AD 977	Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 294
67.	Edevolal viṣaya	Salivoge grāma to the northeast of Banavasi nagara.	AD 692	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 571
68.	Toramara viṣaya	Citrasedu grāma	AD 692	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 571
69.	Keregodu viṣaya	(i) Keregodu (ii) Pallavatataka—created after construction of a bridge over the river Kiline and joining four hamlets.	AD 713	Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Md 35

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
70.	Keregodu nāḍu-viṣaya	(i) Ballanevolal grāma (ii) Ganigur (iii) Sandigala (iv) Keregodu. Also references to (i) Singavur (ii) Irggare (iii) Anesasalu (iv) Kottanur (v) Banagundur (vi) Kamandali. The nāḍu units are not specified.	AD 733	Nilakantha Sastri 1958, 16: Gb 75
71.	Nirggunda viṣaya	(i) Ponnalli (ii) Erenallur (iii) Shrivur	AD 776–77	Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ng 149
72.	Nirggunda nāḍu-300	Viravur	8th century AD	Rice 1902, 5: Cn 208
73.	Nirggunda viṣaya	Kedasur	9th century AD	Ramesh 1984, no. 113
74.	Ganje nāḍ (incidental reference)	–	5th to 6th centuries AD	Ramesh 1984, no. 15
75.	Ganje nāḍ	–	7th to 8th centuries AD	Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 347
76.	Ganje nāḍu	Viyavur is referred to, but its nāḍu affiliation is not clearly specified.	8th century AD	Rice 1905, 10: Mr 96

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
77.	Ganje nāḍu	–	Saka [?] 188 9th century characters	Ramesh 1984, no. 4
78.	Hodali viṣaya	(i) Bedirur (ii) Kolattur (iii) Uttanur (iv) Mukkutal (v) Tondala (vi) Poliyur (vii) Dasanur	AD 634–35	Ramesh 1984, no. 29
79.	Hodali viṣaya	(i) Mudiyanur (ii) Utta grāma (iii) Kolattur	AD 338 [?], though probably a record from the 9th century	Rice 1905, 10: Mb 157
80.	Tegattur viṣaya	Baradur grāma	AD 725–26.	Gopal et al. 1976, 5: Kn 48
81.	Vadakare nāḍu-300	–	8th century AD	Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 120
82.	Vadakare nāḍu-300	(i) Puva grāma (ii) Mudugundur	8th century AD	Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ml 122
83.	Badagare nāḍu-30	Bageyur	Saka [?] 188 9th century characters	Ramesh 1984, no. 4
84.	Badagare nāḍu	Dhanugur	AD 960	Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ml 50

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
85.	Tore-Badagare nāḍu	(i) Appogal (ii) Kulattur (iii) Husagur (iv) Babbagilu (v) Kolanulur. Also references to (i) Kottamangala (ii) Ganiganur (iii) Talakad (iv) Maddur	AD 969	Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 262
86.	Kunungil nāḍu	Bisigur	8th century AD	Narasimhacharya 1914–15, 41
87.	Kunungil-500. Also a reference to Salne nāḍ-300.	Also a reference to Nandigunda, but its nāḍu unit is not specified.	9th to 10th centuries AD	Rice 1905, 9: Dv 43
88.	Karika nāḍ. Also a reference to Palikkari nāḍ.	Bidirkkal	8th century AD	Rice 1905, 9: Bn 36
89.	Erikalavadi-600	Keregala	8th century AD	Rice 1904, 12: Mi 97
90.	Erigalavadi-600	References to (i) Kangapadi (ii) Vallabhavadi (iii) Kandakotta, but their nāḍu units are not specified.	8th century AD	Rice 1904, 12: Mi 93
91.	Erigalavadi-600	–	8th century AD	Rice 1904, 12: Mi 92

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
92.	Keregadu-70	Perggane	8th century AD	Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 147
93.	Aridalke-70	(i)Dhannagavadi (ii)Potevadi (iii)Peruvattiyur (iv) Mardur	8th century AD	Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 90
94.	Vyalekal nāḍ	Talgiyur	8th century AD	Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Gu 42
95.	Karbappu nāḍ-1,000	(i) Olnulu (ii) Kovalavettu grāma.	8th century AD	Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Md 14
96.	Edettore nāḍu-1,000	Ur (name lost)	8th century AD	Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 193
97.	Edettore nāḍu	–	8th century AD	Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 183
98.	Edettore nāḍu-1,000	Vedirur is referred to but unclear whether it belonged to this unit.	9th century AD	Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 192
99.	Edettore nāḍu	–	AD 1021	Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 201
100.	Ganga-6,000 and its sub-unit Kuvalala nāḍu-300	Agali	8th century AD	Rice 1905, 10: Mb 80
101.	Ganga-6,000	–	8th century AD	Rice 1905, 10: Sp 57
102.	Ganga-6,000 and its sub-unit Kuvalala nāḍu-300 referred to	Also a reference to (i) Santanur and (ii) Erediyur but the nāḍu units are not clearly specified.	8th century AD	Rice 1905, 10: Mb 255

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
103.	Ganga-96,000 and its sub-units (i) Kuvalala nāḍu-300 and (ii) Agali-12	–	8th to 9th centuries AD	Shama Sastri 1926, 87–88 no. 100
104.	Ganga-6,000	–	8th century AD	Rice 1905, 10: Kl 235
105.	Ganga-6,000 and its sub-unit Pomkunda-12	–	8th century AD	Rice 1905, 10: Bp 48
106.	Ganga maṇḍala	(i) Manya-nagara (ii) Salmali grāma (iii) Kiruvakkur grāma (iv) Perjjadi (v) Balamangala	AD 798	Rice 1905, 10: Nl 60
107.	Ganga-6,000	References to (i) Surur (ii) Murggepadi but their nāḍu affiliations are unclear.	9th century AD	Rice 1905, 10: Kl 79
108.	Ganga maṇḍala	–	9th century AD	Rice 1905, 10: Mb 248
109.	Ganga-6,000	Nelligelda	9th century AD	Rice 1905, 9: Hs 9
110.	Ganga-6,000	Marangal	9th century AD	Rice 1905, 10: Bp 64
111.	Ganga-6,000	Bangavadi	10th century AD	Rice 1905, 10: Kl 198
112.	Ganga sayaram (1000 [?]) and its sub-unit Pudal nāḍu	Arumolideva Caturvedi-mangalam.	AD 1003	Rice 1905, 10: Mb 123
113.	Ganga sayaram (1000 [?]) and its sub-unit Kuvalala nāḍu	(i) Kuvalala (ii) Araiyur	AD 1006–1007	Rice 1905, 10: Kl 106(b)
114.	Pomkundu-12	References to (i) Koyattur (ii) Kogali (iii) Tayalur, but their nāḍu affiliations are unclear.	8th century AD	Rice 1905, 10: Bp 13
115.	Pomkunda-12	–	8th century AD	Rice 1905, 10: Bp 48

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
116.	Avanya nāḍu-30	Nāḍu affiliation not specified.	8th century AD	Rice 1905, 10: Bp 13
117.	Avanya nāḍ-30	Also a reference to Manayatur	8th century AD	Ramesh 1984, no. 72
118.	Elenagar nāḍu-70	Nāḍu affiliation not specified.	8th century AD	Rice 1905, 10: Bp 13
119.	(i) ...taya nāḍu-12 (ii) Belattur nāḍu (iii) Pulvaki nāḍu-1,000 (iv) Bepodu-1,000, and (v) ...nāḍu-60 (incidental reference)	–	8th century AD	Rice 1905, 10: Sp 57
120.	Morasa nāḍu	(i) Perpusuru (ii) Kottur	8th century characters	Ramesh 1984, no. 3
121.	Morasu nāḍu	Maruru	9th century AD	Rice 1905, 9: Bn 40
122.	Asandi nāḍu	(i) Asandi (ii) Cannavur	8th century AD	Rice 1901, 6: Kd 145
123.	Asandi nāḍu	(i) Kalikatti (ii) Arakere	9th to 10th centuries AD	Krishna 1942c, 15: Ak 215
124.	Asandi nāḍu	Basanur	9th to 10th centuries AD	Rice 1901, 6: Kd 141
125.	(i) Asandi nāḍ-500 (ii) Ballavi nāḍ (iii) Mysur nāḍ-70 referred to	Also a reference to Battiyur, but it is unclear which unit it belonged to.	10th to 11th centuries AD	Rice 1901, 6: Kd 9
126.	Kuruvale viṣaya	Alur grāma with hamlet Vaydeut	AD 799	Ramesh 1984, no. 50
127.	Koyattur-12, 000	Reference to Nandi, but its nāḍu unit is not mentioned.	AD 810	Seshadri 1965, 17: CB 66

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
128.	Kumbadi Kilale nāḍu	(i) Kirupel-nagara (ii) Kolattur (iii) Mulur	9th century AD	Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 145
129.	Guldapadi	Kappahalli	AD 870	Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 257
130.	Sire nāḍu	Nandur	AD 878	Rice 1904, 12: Si 38
131.	Gholali nāḍ	(i) Oreyur (ii)Baragur. Also references to (i)Dharmapolala (ii) Siyavur (iii)Tailokapolala (iv) Pemjeru	c. AD 880	Rice 1904, 12: Si 24
132.	Manya viṣaya	Kottimba grāma	AD 799	Ramesh 1984, no. 50
133.	Manya viṣaya	Doddavadi grāma	AD 828	Settar 1976, 3: 32–34 no. 4
134.	Manne nāḍu-300	–	AD 968	Rice 1905, 9: Ma 75
135.	Manne nāḍu	Balevadi	AD 1029	Rice 1905, 9: Nl 1
136.	Kongal nāḍu	–	AD 870–71	Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 385
137.	Kongal nāḍu	–	9th century AD	Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Kr 20
138.	Kongal nāḍu-8,000	Kurgallu	10th century AD	Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Pp 28
139.	Nekkundi nāḍu	References to (i) Bellamparavi	c. AD 850	Rice 1905, 10: Kl 200

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
		(ii) Pulikurukki, but it is unclear which nāḍu they belonged to.		
140.	Nekkundi nāḍu	–	c. AD 880	Rice 1905, 10: Ct 36
141.	Nekkundi nāḍu	–	c. AD 950	Rice 1905, 9: Hs 37
142.	Magare visaya	Alur	9th century AD	Ramesh 1984, no. 113
143.	Kesumannu nāḍu	References to (i) Gundigal and (ii) Bageyur, but their nāḍu affiliations are unspecified.	8th century AD	Nilakantha Sastri 1958, 16: Tm 95, 96
144.	Puli nāḍu	Reference to Kundattur	c. AD 890	Rice 1905, 10: Mb 243, 244
145.	Puli nāḍu	Reference to (i) Halayur (ii) ...duru	c. AD 900	Rice 1905, 10: Sp 85
146.	Nolambavadi	–	8th century AD	Krishna 1941, 220–21 no. 45
147.	Nolvabba rājya	–	8th century AD	Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Mu 36
148.	Nolambavadi-32,000	–	10th to 11th centuries AD	Rice 1905, 10: Sp 59
149.	Nolambavadi alias Nigarili-Solapuram and its sub-unit Kaivara nāḍu	(i) Jayangonda Sola Caturvedimangalam (ii) Gangapallapura	AD 1017–18	Rice 1905, 10: Kl 26

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
150.	Nolambavadi alias Nigarili-Solamandalam and its sub-unit Kuvalala nāḍu	Kuvalala	AD 1019–20	Rice 1905, 10: Kl 106(a)
151.	Beddoregare	Bili-ur and its 12 pallis	AD 888	Gopal et al. 1972, 1: no. 96
152.	Beddoregare	(i) Peggadur (ii) Posavadaga	AD 978	Gopal et al. 1972, 1: no. 98
153.	Sige nāḍu	–	9th century AD	Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 385
154.	Mamgudi nāḍu	(i) Mamandur (ii) Pervoguli (iii) Kiruvoguliare referred to but it is unclear whether they belonged to this unit.	9th century AD	Ramesh 1984, no. 86
155.	Tore nāḍu-500	Kodagur	8th to 9th centuries AD	Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 46
156.	Tore nāḍu-12,000. Also a reference to Dibbigara-70	–	9th to 10th centuries AD	Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Pp 117
157.	Ere nāḍu	–	9th century AD	Shama Sastri 1922–23, 40 no. 4
158.	Kolur nāḍ	–	9th to 10th centuries AD	Rice 1901, 6: Cm 133
159.	Bayal nāḍu	–	9th to 10th centuries AD	Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 5

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
160.	Bayal nāḍu	–	10th century AD	Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 23
161.	Bayal nāḍu	Alattur	10th century AD	Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Gu 219
162.	Purva Bayal nāḍu	Manalevadi	10th century AD	Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 223
163.	Bayal nāḍu	Manali	10th century AD	Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 110
164.	Bira Bayal nāḍu	Magge	AD 998–99	Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 142
165.	(i) Nugu nāḍu (ii) Navale nāḍu	Kottamangala in one of these two units	9th to 10th centuries AD	Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 5
166.	Nugu nāḍu	Belaturu	AD 1020	Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Hg 58
167.	Salne nāḍ-300	Reference to Nandigunda-nāḍu but its unit is not specified.	9th to 10th century AD	Rice 1905, 9: Dv 42
168.	Sanne nāḍu	References to (i) Kirugudalu (ii) Piriya Mattivur (iii) Alur (iv) Piriya Settimangala	AD 1029	Rice 1905, 9: Nl 1
169.	Bempur-12	(i) Bempuru (ii) Tovaguru (iii) Puvina Pullimangala (iv) Kutanidu Nalluru	9th to 10th centuries AD	Rice 1905, 9: Bn 83

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
		(v)Komaragundu (vi) Nalluru (vii) Iggaluru (viii) Dugmonelamalli (ix) Galamyavagilu (x) ...saramu (xi) Elkuppe (xii)Paravurukudal		
170.	Amaniya nāḍu-30	Reference to Tayalur	9th century AD	Rice 1905, 10: Mb 248
171.	Bhimane nāḍu-300	–	9th century AD	Rice 1905, 10: Sp 50
172.	Bage-ur nāḍ	–	9th century AD	Rice 1905, 10: Ct 124
173.	...pari nāḍ	Kiruparavi. Also a reference to Anandur, whose nāḍu affiliation is not specified.	9th century AD	Rice 1905, 10: Sp 19
174.	Kilka nāḍ	Piriya Bidirur	10th century AD	Rice 1905, 10: Gd 4
175.	Uramari nāḍ	Reference to Kirur but it is unclear whether it belonged to this nāḍu.	10th century AD	Shama Sastri 1926, 71 no. 63
176.	Caki nāḍ	–	10th century	Rice 1904, 12: Si 55
177.	Kumara nāḍu	Malavalli	10th century AD	Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 130
178.	Kotu nāḍ	Tattanur	10th to 11th centuries AD	Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 57

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
179.	Adiraru-12	–	10th century AD	Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 197
180.	Kuppa nāḍu in Gangavadi-32,000	Manalur agrahara	AD 976–77	Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Pp 133
181.	Kongu nāḍu-70	–	10th century AD	Gopal et al. 1976, 5: Kn 41
182.	Baladalastala	Cikkanya	10th century AD	Gopal et al. 1976, 5: My 198
183.	Kelale nāḍu	Belaturu	AD 949–50	Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Mu 42
184.	Kilalai nāḍu in Gangavadi	(i) Piriya Malavur alias Irajentirasinga Caturvedimangalam (ii) Manalur and its suburb Nigarili-Solapuram	AD 1007 AD 1014 AD 1015 AD 1029	Rice 1905, 9: Cp 128, 132, 127, 139, 91
185.	Kelale nāḍu	Punganur	c. AD 1007 AD 1007 AD 1017	Rice 1905, 9: Cp 130, 47, 92
186.	Kilalai nāḍu in Gangavadi	Vandur alias Solamadevi Caturvedimangalam	AD 1007 AD 1014	Rice 1905, 9: Cp 132, 129
187.	Kilalai nāḍu in Mudigonda-Solamandalam	Punganur alias Trayilokamadevi	AD 1017	Rice 1905, 9: Cp 42
188.	Kilalai nāḍu in Irajentirasinga Vala nāḍu in the northern part of Mudigonda-Solamandalam	Caturvedimangalam Irajendirasinga Caturvedimangalam	AD 1024	Rice 1905, 9: Cp 84.

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
189.	Atakur-12	Atakur	AD 949–50	Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Mu 42
190.	Belvola-300	Kadiyur	AD 949–50	Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Mu 42
191.	Magali nāḍu	(i) Rajapolala— a royal residence (ii) Araniyur	AD 972	Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ng 99
192.	Kundur nāḍu	...ur	AD 997	Gopal 1979, 7: Md 67
193.	Kalkali nāḍu	(i) Ulanur (ii) Panaravadi— both not included in this unit.	AD 970	Rice 1902, 5: Cn 267
194.	Kalkali nāḍu	(i) Nettur (ii) Kottamangala	AD 971	Rice 1902, 5: Cn 262
195.	Marandale maryade	Nerilage	AD 971–72	Krishna 1942c, Ak 237
196.	Mandali nāḍu-1,000	Mullugere	10th century AD	Krishna 1935, 110–11 no. 33
197.	Mandala nāḍ	–	10th century AD	Ramesh 1984, no. 137
198.	Mandali nāḍu-1,000	Gangavur	10th century AD	Rice 1902, 7: Sh 24
199.	Idai nāḍu in southern Gangavadi	Tadimalingi	AD 1004–14	Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 230
200.	Idai nāḍu	Marudur	11th century AD	Gopal 1976, 5: TN 227
201.	Idai nāḍu in Gangaikonda Solavala nāḍu in Mudigonda Solamandalam	Jananathapuram alias Tadimalingi	AD 1015–16	Gopal 1976, 5: TN 233
202.	Idai nāḍu in Mudigonda-Solamandalam	Mayilangai alias Jananathapuram	AD 1021–22	Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 229
203.	Mysur nāḍu-70	Also a reference to Battiyur but its unit is not specified.	10th to 11th centuries AD	Rice 1901, 6: Kd 9

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
204.	Maisu nāḍu	Nandigunda	AD 1021	Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 201
205.	There are references to (i) Te...nād (ii) Bammagavundana nāḍ (iii) Rajendra Chola nāḍ	Also a reference to Maravur, but its unit is not specified	AD 1021	Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Hs 4
206.	Ballegula	Balambu tīrtha	AD 1012–13	Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Sr 78
207.	Kudugu nāḍu	(i) Pasuguli (ii) Kellasur (iii) Tuppor (iv) Kandamangala (v) Himmisoge (vi) Kellur (vii) Nittare	AD 1028–29	Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Gu 28
208.	Satapala aru aruvattu	–	AD 1027	Krishna 1939, no. 34
209.	Vidyadhara nāḍu	–	10th to 11th centuries AD	Rice 1901, 6: Kd 144
210.	Kadamba maṇḍala	Kilga	7th century AD	Rice 1901, 6: Kp 38
211.	Kadamba rājya	–	11th century AD	Rice 1902, 5: Mj 45
212.	Kadamba rājya	–	c. AD 1026	Rice 1902, 5: Mj 54
213.	Jeluguralge. Also a reference to Nayarakhanda.	(i) Alamvalli (ii) Navalli (iii) Nirilli (iv) Andugi. It is not clear to which of the two units these setlements belonged.	7th century AD	Rice 1902, 7: Sk 154
214.	Jiduguralge-70, a sub-division of Banavasi-12,000	(i) Banavasi kōṭe (ii) Ponnavur (iii) Kumbise	AD 913	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 88

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
215.	Jidduralge-70, a sub-unit of Banavasi-12,000	(i) Balligami (ii) Gingitiyur	AD 964	Krishna 1929, 150 no. 78
216.	Biduralge-70, a sub-division of Banavasi-12,000	Punnuvavalli	AD 968	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 531
217.	Jidugalge-70	(i) Madeyur (ii) Punuvavalli (iii) Bariyur	AD 981	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 530
218.	Nayarakhanda	See no. 213 above	7th century AD	Rice 1902, 7: Sk 154
219.	Nagarakhanda-70, a sub-unit of Banavasi-12,000	(i) Avutavur (ii) Bandalike (iii) Kodangeyur	AD 919–20	Rice 1902, 7: Sk 219
220.	Nagarakhanda-70 in Banavasi-12,000	–	AD 942	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 408
221.	Nagarakhanda-70 in Banavasi-12,000	(i) Barangi (ii) Kannasoge	AD 957	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 326
222.	Nagarakhanda-70 in Banavasi-12,000	Piriya Magundi	AD 987	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 413
223.	Nagarakhanda-70 in Banavasi-12,000	(i) Bandanike (ii) Todalli (iii) Nagarakhanda	AD 1009	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 234
224.	Nagarakhanda-70. Also a reference to a nāḍu of 100.	Karinele. It is unclear which unit it belonged to.	AD 1029	Rice 1902, 7: Sk 81
225.	(i) Kare nāḍ (ii) Edenadu-70	Also a reference to Divanur	4th to 5th centuries AD	Rice 1902, 7: Sk 52
226.	Edenadu-70 in Vanavasi-12,000	Vasavur kōṭe	8th century AD	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 1
227.	Edenadu in Banavasi-12,000	Cittarate Otur	c. AD 938	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 70
228.	Edenadu-70	Bada, near Edenadu-70	AD 939	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 476

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
229.	Edenadu-70	(i) Kaisoge Bada (ii) Tagarati agrahara	AD 950–51	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 570
230.	Edenadu in the 12,000 country	(i) Kakkarasi (ii) Muttiguppe	AD 954	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 474
231.	Edenadu-70	(i) Kirugunise (ii) Elase	AD 959	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 501
232.	Edenadu-70	–	AD 991	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 477
233.	Edenadu-70	–	AD 1025	Rice 1904, 8: Sa 7
234.	Edenadu	Basavur	AD 1029	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 213
235.	Edenadu	Guduve	AD 1032	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 60–63
236.	Santalige	(i) Kuvalli (ii) Isavur	9th century AD	Rice 1904, 8: Sk 283
237.	Santalige Also a reference to ...dyalige nāḍ.	(i) Gellur (ii) ...kere	AD 963	Rice 1902, 7: Sh 22
238.	The Thousand nāḍ in Banavasi-12,000	–	c. AD 980	Rice 1902, 7: Sk 184
239.	Santalige-1,000 (one among 8 units referred to)	–	AD 991	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 477
240.	Santalige-1,000 (one among 5 units referred to)	–	AD 997	Rice 1902, 7: Sk 179
241.	Santalige-1,000	Tanagundur	AD 1007	Rice 1902, 7: Sk 195
242.	Santalige-1,000 in Banavasi-12,000	Salipura agrahara	AD 1011–12	Rice 1902, 7: Sk 287
243.	Santalige-1000 in Banavasi-12,000. Also a reference to Hayve-500.	Reference to Balipura *bidu*	AD 1019	Rice 1902, 7: Sk 125
244.	Santalige-1,000	–	AD 1025	Rice 1904, 8: Sa 7
245.	Santalige-1,000. Also a reference to Koda nāḍu-30.	(i) Tagarache (ii) Kudigere	AD 1027	Rice 1902, 7: Sk 53
246.	Santalige-1,000	–	AD 1029	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 213

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
247.	Banavasi maṇḍala. There is also an incidental reference to Aluvakheda-6,000	(i) Pergumji kōṭe (ii) Kundage (iii) Mittise (iv) Simmanur (v) Andugi (vi) Bedemetti (vii) Balligame (viii) Gandugudi	8th to 9th centuries AD	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 10
248.	(i) ...nāḍu (ii) Golliga nāḍu	Also references to (i) Vasavur kōṭe (ii) Induvalli	8th to 9th centuries AD	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 542
249.	(Banava)si-12,000	Manamane	8th to 9th centuries AD	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 22
250.	Banavasi-12,000	Madi-ur	AD 870	Rice 1902, 7: Hl 13
251.	Banavasi-12,000	Kumbise	AD 877	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 85
252.	Banavasi-12,000	Kumbise	10th century AD	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 91
253.	Vanavasi viṣaya	Tanagundur	AD 904	Gopal 1974, 3: Nj 402
254.	Banavasi-12,000	–	AD 934	Rice 1902, 7: Hl 21, 23
255.	Banavasi-12,000 and a reference to a nāḍ	Peraseyal	AD 939–40	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 77
256.	Banavasi nāḍu	–	AD 950	Rice 1902, 7: Sk 183
257.	Banavasi-12, 000	Kaccavikola	AD 954	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 240
258.	Bana(va)si nāḍu	Bivanur	AD 954–55	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 202
259.	Banavasi nāḍu	(i) ...ur (ii) Also a reference to the Bedas of Kudali.	AD 964	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 203
260.	Banavasi-12,000	(i) Banavasi pura (ii) Mangaluru (iii) 24 agraharas (iv) Jaraguru (v) ...havalli	AD 968	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 465

Sl. no.	Politico-geographical units referred to	Settlements within it	Date	Reference
261.	Banavasi-12,000	Ur (name lost)	AD 972–73	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 455
262.	The Twelve Thousand country	Kosigavalli	AD 972–73	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 44
263.	Banavasi-12,000	Binakalli	AD 972–73	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 454, 457
264.	Banavasi arasu	Banavasi. Also reference to Vatapi	AD 980	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 529
265.	Banavasi-12,000	Uttarani	AD 1012	Rice 1902, 7: Sk 71
266.	Banavasi-12,000	Nellur Maleyara	AD 1013	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 471
267.	Banavasi-12,000	Miliyapalaga	AD 1013	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 376
268.	Banavasi-12,000	...ur	AD 1015–16	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 16
269.	Banavasi nāḍu	Canda	AD 1016	Rice 1902, 7: Sk 307
270.	Banavasi-12,000	Banavasi	AD 1018	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 48
271.	Banavasi-12,000. Also a reference to Padinent agrahara.	–	AD 1021	Rice 1902, 7: Sk 9

Appendix II

Urban Settlements in Southern Karnataka

Sl. no.	Settlement	Fifth century	Sixth century	Seventh century	Eighth century	Ninth century	Tenth century	Eleventh century
1.	Vaijayanti/ Banavasi	Capital of the Kadambas, who are described as lords of Vaijayanti (Rice 1902, 7: Sk 264); described as being "adorned with 18 maṇḍapikas" (Rice 1901, 6: Kd 162).	–	An urban centre, denoted by the suffix nagara. Reference to the corporate body (Nagara) of Banavasi, and to a merchant (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 57).	–	–	An administrative centre (kaṭaka) (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 476).	A fortified administrative centre (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 61).

Sl. no.	Settlement	Fifth century	Sixth century	Seventh century	Eighth century	Ninth century	Tenth century	Eleventh century
2.	Kuvalala/ Kolala	Rural settlement. Mention of a grant of land under the tank of Kuvalala. Terms such as pura, nagara not used (Ramesh 1984, no. 157).	–	Urban as denoted by the suffix pura. Centre of a viṣaya (Ramesh 1984, no. 29).	–	Urban as denoted by the suffix pura. Ganga king described as Kuvalālapura-varēśvara (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 79).	Nanniya Ganga described as Koḷālapura-paramēśvara (Rice 1905, 10: Gd 4)	A religious and administrative centre. The Kolaramma temple located here received grants of villages (Rice 1905, 10: Kl 112[a] & [f]).
3.	Perur	Possibly urban. Tolls (śulka) levied outside Perur (Ramesh, 1984, no. 12). Lands in its vicinity owned by merchants and clothiers (Ramesh 1984, no. 11).	–	–	–	–	–	–

Sl. no.	Settlement	Fifth century	Sixth century	Seventh century	Eighth century	Ninth century	Tenth century	Eleventh century
4.	Sangama pura	Urban as denoted by the suffix pura. A newly established town (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Hn 10).	–	–	–	–	–	–
5.	Kirumundaniri-nagara	Urban as denoted by suffix of nagara. A tenth share of its income was granted to brahmanas (Gopal et al. 1984, 8: Hn 10).	–	–	–	–	–	–

Sl. no.	Settlement	Fifth century	Sixth century	Seventh century	Eighth century	Ninth century	Tenth century	Eleventh century
6.	Kumara pura	Urban as denoted by suffix of pura. Land here granted for a Jaina temple (Rice 1905, 10: Mr 73).	–	–	–	–	–	–
7.	Mahasenapura	–	Urban as denoted by suffix of pura. No other details are available (Rice 1905, 9: Bn 141).	–	Urban as denoted by suffix of pura. A brahmana donee stated to be resident here (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Md 35).	–	–	–

Sl. no.	Settlement	Fifth century	Sixth century	Seventh century	Eighth century	Ninth century	Tenth century	Eleventh century
8.	Tarakad/ Talavana-nagara/ Rajarajapuram	–	–	–	AD 713: urban, the site of a royal camp (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Md 35). AD 725: a royal centre. Reference to several kings (arasa) and to the corporate body, the Twenty-five of Tarakad, which received a hamlet as bittuvaṭṭa (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 207).	Urban as denoted by suffix of nagara. Also the site of a jinālaya, which received the grant of a village (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 278; 1972, 1: no. 1).	A trading centre (pattana). Reference to 2 corporate groups, the Twenty-five and the Mahānagara, and to an official, the paṭṭaṇa-vasantara (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 200).	Renamed Rajarajapuram after Chola conquest. Reference to a merchant of this place (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 169).

Sl. no.	Settlement	Fifth century	Sixth century	Seventh century	Eighth century	Ninth century	Tenth century	Eleventh century
9.	Asandi	–	–	–	Centre of a nāḍu and a marketing centre (nagara). Reference to 2 corporate groups, the Fifty-two and the Nakara (Rice 1901, 6: Kd 145).	Capital of a feudatory of Rachamalla II (Rice 1901, 6: Cm 129).	Religious centre. Reference to a main (mūlasthana) basadi located here (Rice 1901, 6: Kd 159).	–
10.	Sripuram	–	–	–	Urban; a religious centre, site of Lokatilaka basadi. If identical with Srivur, the urban centre had just emerged—there are references to tanks and fields in the plains of Srivur (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ng 149).	–	–	–

Sl. no.	Settlement	Fifth century	Sixth century	Seventh century	Eighth century	Ninth century	Tenth century	Eleventh century
11.	Manne/Manya-nagara	–	–	–	AD 750: referred to as grāma, the site of a royal camp (Rice 1901, 6: Mg 36). AD 762: urban as denoted by suffix of nagara, the favourite residence of Shripurusha Ganga (Ramesh 1984, no. 45). AD 798: a religious centre (Rice 1905, 9: Nl 60). AD 799: administrative centre of a nāḍu (Ramesh 1984, no. 50).	–	Headquarters of the Rastrakuta general overseeing the south (Nilakantha Sastri 1958, 16: Tm 78).	–

Sl. no.	Settlement	Fifth century	Sixth century	Seventh century	Eighth century	Ninth century	Tenth century	Eleventh century
12.	Kirupel-nagara	–	–	–	–	Urban as denoted by suffix of nagara; perhaps a market centre. In other respects agrarian (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 146).	–	Urban: reference to houses of gāvuṇḍas and pergaḍes, and to a flower garden (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 142).
13.	Avanya	–	–	–	Unclear, but probably a religious centre. A pillar (garuḍa stambha) for a temple mentioned (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 59)	A religious centre. A temple was constructed here for Mahendradhiraja Nolamba, which received a grant of Elanagara (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 38, 50).	Another small temple constructed in c. AD 920 (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 67). Centre of the division of Avanya ruled by the pontiff (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 93). The temples here received tax exemption from the Nolamba king (Rice 1905, 10: Mb 51).	–

Sl. no.	Settlement	Fifth century	Sixth century	Seventh century	Eighth century	Ninth century	Tenth century	Eleventh century
14.	Baragur	–	–	–	–	Incipient urbanism: site of a royal palace converted into a temple in AD 878 (Rice 1904, 12: Si 38). Capital of the estate of a Nolamba queen. Some land here was granted for a basadi (Rice 1904, Si 24).	Religious centre. Reference to 2 temples and a monastery. A tank in the southwestern quarter also mentioned (Rice 1904, 12: Si 39).	–

Sl. no.	Settlement	Fifth century	Sixth century	Seventh century	Eighth century	Ninth century	Tenth century	Eleventh century
15.	Sonitapura	–	–	–	–	–	Capital of Mahāsāmanta Kaccaga Nirggundadeva (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 114).	–
16.	Rajapolala	–	–	–	–	–	Urban as denoted by the term poḷal. Residence of Noḷamba-kulāntaka Marasimha II (Gopal et al. 1979, 7: Ng 99).	–

Sl. no.	Settlement	Fifth century	Sixth century	Seventh century	Eighth century	Ninth century	Tenth century	Eleventh century
17.	Manalur and its suburb Nigarili-Solapuram	–	–	–	–	–	–	AD 1007: Manalur was a rural settlement out of which an urban enclave, Nigarili-Solapuram, developed. Site of a Vishnu temple and a market centre (Rice 1905, 9: Cp 128 & 132). AD 1014: the Nagarattār of the town made a grant to the Vishnu temple (Rice 1905, 9: Cp 131).

Sl. no.	Settlement	Fifth century	Sixth century	Seventh century	Eighth century	Ninth century	Tenth century	Eleventh century
18.	Mayalangai (Tadimalingi)/ Jananathapuram	–	–	–	–	–	–	c. AD 1000: rural. Reference to the sale of lands by the gāvuṇḍas for a Vishnu temple situated there (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 213). AD 1015: urban. Reference to the Nagarattār, who made a cash gift to the temple (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 233). AD 1022: a similar cash gift entrusted to the Nagarattār (Gopal et al. 1976, 5: TN 229).

Sl. no.	Settlement	Fifth century	Sixth century	Seventh century	Eighth century	Ninth century	Tenth century	Eleventh century
19.	Suttur	–	–	–	–	–	–	AD 1032: incipient urbanism. An agrahāra with a monastery and 2 temples. The sabhā, Nānādēśis and merchants mentioned in connection to grants for temples; the money was invested in land (Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 215).

Appendix III

Inscriptional References to Brahmanas

Sl. no.	Source	Name	Gōtra	Sākhā/ Caraṇa	Emigrated from	Immigrated to	Other remarks	Date
1.	Rice 1902, 7: Sk 264.	Shri Nagadatta	Konninya (Kaundinya [?])	–	–	–	–	–
2.	Ramesh 1984, no. 1.	Dhara Sharman	Kosikaputra	Taittiriya	–	Velpottura in Paruvi viṣaya	Recipient of a brahma-dēya grant	End of 4th century
3.	-do-	Soma Sharman	Vatsa	–	–	–	Writer of grant, employed by Madhava-varman I Ganga.	-do-
4.	Ramesh 1984, no. 2.	Naga	Bharadvaja	Taittiriya	–	Kandasala grāma in Kulungijya rājya	Recipient of a brahma-dēya grant	-do-

Sl. no.	Source	Name	Gōtra	Śākhā/ Caraṇa	Emigrated from	Immigrated to	Other remarks	Date
5.	-do-	Soma Sharman	–	–	–	–	A privy councillor (sarvarahasyā dhikṛta) of Madhava-varman I Ganga	-do-
6.	Ramesh 1984, no. 5.	Matri Sharman, son of Valivera Caturvedin	Rathitara	Taittiriya	–	Kuru-ura in Perati bhōga in Paruvi viṣaya	Recipient of brahmadēya grant	Early 5th century
7.	Ramesh 1984, no. 6.	(i) Skanda Sharman (ii) Arya Sharman (iii) Kumara Sharman (iv) Drona Sharman (v) Vira Sharman (vi) Hara Sharman, all sons of Bhuti Sharman	Varakya	Chandoga	–	Kudiliyam in Perura viṣaya	Recipients of brahmadēya grants	-do-

Sl. no.	Source	Name	Gōtra	Śākhā/ Caraṇa	Emigrated from	Immigrated to	Other remarks	Date
8.	-do-	Eraga Sharman	–	–	–	–	A privy councillor [?] (sarvamantrā dhikṛta) of Krishnavarman Ganga of Kaivara branch.	-do-
9.	Ramesh 1984, no. 7.	74 brahmanas, including:				Chukuttur in Kaivara viṣaya	Recipients of brahmadēya grants; described as adept in self-control, austerities, penance, Vedic studies, performing and conducting sacrifices.	5th century AD
		(i) Kumara Sharman	Kaushika	–	–	-do-		
		(ii) Ishvara Sharman	Krishnatreya	–	–	-do-		
		(iii) Agni Sharman	-do-	–	–	-do-		
		(iv) Ishvara Sharman	Kashyapa	–	–	-do-		
		(v) Svami Sharman	Bharadvaja	–	–	-do-		
		(vi) Datta Sharman	Kashyapa	–	–	-do-		
		(vii) Kali Sharman	Kaushika	–	–	-do-		

Sl. no.	Source	Name	Gōtra	Sākhā/ Caraṇa	Emigrated from	Immigrated to	Other remarks	Date
		(viii) Bhava Sharman	Kutsa	–	–	-do-		
		(ix) Vishnu Sharman	-do-	–	–	-do-		
		(x) Arya Sharman	Kaushika	–	–	-do-		
		(xi) Mahesvara Sharman	Kaundinya	–	–	-do-		
		(xii) Vara Sharman	Kasyapa	–	–	-do-		
		(xiii) Soma Sharman	-do-	–	–	-do-		
		(xiv) Nandi Sharman	Bharadvaja	–	–	-do-		
		(xv) Vella Sharman	Harita	–	–	-do-		
		(xvi) Durga Sharman	Vatsa	–	–	-do-		
		(xvii) Sena Sharman	Kaundinya	–	–	-do-		
		(xviii) Arya Sharman	-do-	–	–	-do-		

Sl. no.	Source	Name	Gōtra	Sākhā/ Caraṇa	Emigrated from	Immigrated to	Other remarks	Date
10.	Rice 1904, 8:Sb 33	Soma Sharmarya	Gautama	–	–	Kadalakalani grāma	Recipient of a brahma-dēya grant.	5th century AD
11.	Ramesh 1984, no. 156	Matri Sharman	Kashypa	Vajasaneyi	–	Kuvalala	Described as adept in self-control, austerity, penance, Vedic study and perform-ing and conducting sacrifices. Recipent of a brahmadēya grant.	5th century AD
12.	Ramesh 1984, no. 8	Kumara Sharman	Vatsa	Taittiriya	–	Paruvi in Paruvi viṣaya	-do-	-do-
13.	Rice 1902, 7: Sk 29	Deva Sharman	Kaundinya	Taittiriya caraṇa, Dattanuyoga (kalpa?)	–	Ankodmala village	–	5th century AD

Sl. no.	Source	Name	Gōtra	Sākhā/ Caraṇa	Emigrated from	Immigrated to	Other remarks	Date
14.	Ramesh 1984, no. 9	(i) Kumara Sharman (ii) Bhava Sharman	Kaushika	Taittiriya	–	Kutalur grāma in Marukara viṣaya	Recipients of a brama-dēya grant	5th century AD
15.	Ramesh 1984, no. 157	Divakara Sharman	Vatsa	Vajasaneyi śākhā	–	Kuvalala	-do-	5th century AD
16.	Ramesh 1984, no. 13	Keshava Sharman	Kashyapa	Taittiriya caraṇa Pravacana kalpa	–	Panapura in Marukara viṣaya	-do-	End of 5th century AD
17.	-do-	Govinda Sharman	-do-	-do-	–	Kolpalli in Marukara viṣaya	-do-	End of 5th century AD
18.	-do-	Damodara Bhatta	–	–	–	–	Rahasy-ādhikṛta	End of 5th century AD
19.	Ramesh 1984, no. 14	74 brahmanas (unnamed)	–	–	Suguttur (same as Chukuttur in Kaivara viṣaya?)	Kodunjeruvu in Pudoli viṣaya	Described as being noted for self-control, penance, knowledge of the Vedas and performance of sacrifices; recipients of brahmadēya grants.	End of 5th century AD

Sl. no.	Source	Name	Gōtra	Sākhā/ Caraṇa	Emigrated from	Immigrated to	Other remarks	Date
20.	Ramesh 1984, no. 16	(i) Kada (ii) Svami	Maudgalya	Taittiriya caraṇa Hiranyakesi sūtra	Tippur in Marugare rāṣṭra	Melur	Recipients of bramadēya grants.	End of 5th century AD
21.	Ramesh 1984, no. 18	Vasa Sharman	–	–	Mahasenapura	–	Described as maintainer of sacred fire *(āhitagnaye)*	6th century AD
22.	Ramesh 1984, no. 19	Kapali Sharman, son of Agni Sharma	Kutsa	Taittiriya caraṇa, Pravacana kalpa	Upakotta	Palli-ur in Korikunda viṣaya	Described as one whose sacred rites were special due to their performance with soma *(somaneṣṭa viśiṣṭakarmaṇaḥ)*	6th century AD
23.	Ramesh 1984, no. 20	Skanda Sharman	Bharadvaja	Taittiriya caraṇa, Apastambha sūtra	–	Tripperur in Peruka bhōga in Vanne viṣaya	Described as one "who knew the meaning of mantras and sutras, the essence of sacred precepts versed in six auziliary branches of vedic study".	6th century AD

Sl. no.	Source	Name	Gōtra	Sākhā/ Caraṇa	Emigrated from	Immigrated to	Other remarks	Date
24.	Ramesh 1984, no. 21	48 bramanas (unnamed)	Bharadvaja, Vatsa and Kaushika	Taittiriya caraṇa, Apastambha and Pravacana sūtras	–	Kolirtur village in Pundalnada rāṣṭra	Described as scholars, incessant drinkers of soma and ever-engaged in the six-fold duties.	6th century AD
25.	Rice 1902, 7: Sk 66.	Narayana Sharman	Gautama	–	–	Satonahila grāma	–	6th century AD
26.	Ramesh 1984, no. 22	Sena Sharman	Kautsa	–	–	Paralkunde grāma in Kovalala viṣaya	Recipient of *brahmadēya* grant.	6th century AD
27.	Ramesh 1984, no. 23	Bhuta Sharman	Krishnatreya	–	–	Saliggame	-do-	6th century AD
28.	Ramesh 1984, no. 24	(i) Bhavarudra Sharman (ii) Drona Sharman (iii) Skanda Sharman (iv) Bhava Sharman (v) Agni Sharman	Bharadvaja	Pravacana kalpa	Korgattur	Kondunjeruvu	Described as "well versed in performing sacrifices, the six branches of vedic study, and incessant drinkers of soma juice, ever engaged	6th century AD

Sl. no.	Source	Name	Gōtra	Sākhā/ Caraṇa	Emigrated from	Immigrated to	Other remarks	Date
							in performing the six-fold duties, e.g. performing sacrifices". Recipients of brahmadēya grants.	
29.	Ramesh 1984, no. 25	Sena Sharman and his son (unnamed)	Bharadvaja	Taittiriya caraṇa, Pravacana kalpa	–	Nallalam in Korikunda viṣaya	Recipients of abramadēya grant	6th century AD
30.	Ramesh 1984, no. 158	Kumba Sharman	Kashyapa	–	–	Kirumorekoli on southern bank of Kabbani river	-do-	6th century AD
31.	Ramesh 1984, no. 27	Naga Sharman	Kaushika	–	–	Palaccoge village in Vallavi dēśa, Sendraka viṣaya	"Ever engaged in the perfor-mance of the six-fold duties."	Mid 7th century AD
32.	Rice 1904, 8: Sb 571	Naga Sharman	Devarata Kaushika	Taittiriya	Mahasenapura	Salivoga near Banavasi	–	AD 692

Sl. no.	Source	Name	Gōtra	Sākhā/ Caraṇa	Emigrated from	Immigrated to	Other remarks	Date
33.	Ramesh 1984, no. 31	(i) Madhava Sharman, son of Mara Sharman	Atreya	Vajasaneya	–	Pallavatataka grāma in Keregodu viṣaya	An *ukthayāji* (A brahmana performing sacrifices according to the Sama Veda.)	AD 713–14
		(ii) Keshava Sharman	Harita	–	–	-do-	–	
		(iii) Madhava Sharman	Bharadvaja	–	–	-do-	–	
		(iv) Arya Sharman	Vashistha	–	–	-do-	A *ghaṭikāsāhasi* (A person who had studied in or was attached to a *ghaṭikā* (brahmanical educational institution.)	
		(v) Madhava Sharman	Harita	–	–	-do-	–	
		(vi) Bappa Sharman	Gargya	–	–	-do-	An ukthayāji	

Sl. no.	Source	Name	Gōtra	Sākhā/ Caraṇa	Emigrated from	Immigrated to	Other remarks	Date
		(vii) Gobbe Sharman	Lohita	–	–	-do-	–	
		(viii) Naga Sharman	Bharadvaja	–	–	-do-	A *ghaṭikāsāhasi*.	
		(ix) Sharva Sharman	Vatsa	–	–	-do-	A somayāji	
		(x) Rudra Sharman	-do-	–	–	-do-	–	
		(xi) Trivikrama Sharman	Laksanya	–	–	–	–	
		(xii) Madhava Sharman	Kashyapa	–	–	-do-	–	
		(xiii) Vinaya Sharman	Gargya	–	–	-do-	A somayāji	
		(xiv) Ishvara Somayaji	Kaundinya	–	–	-do-	-do-	
		(xv) Pittamma Somayaji	Atreya	–	–	-do-	-do-	
		(xvi) Pittiamma Sharman	Bharadvaja	–	–	–	–	
		(xvii) Narayana Sharman	Kashyapa	–	–	-do-	–	
		(xviii) Kopota Sharman	Kaundinya	–	–	-do-	–	

Sl. no.	Source	Name	Gōtra	Sākhā/ Caraṇa	Emigrated from	Immigrated to	other remarks	Date
		(xix) Koratta Sharman	Kanvayana	–	–	-do-	–	
		(xx) Narayana Sharman	Kaushika	–	–	-do-	–	
		(xxi) Madhava Sharman	Kashyapa	–	–	-do-	A somayāji	
		(xxii) Shankha Sharman	Kaundinya	–	–	-do-	–	
		(xxiii) Rajashri Sharman	Vatsa	–	–	-do-	–	
		(xxiv) Naga Sharman	Atreya	–	–	-do-	–	
		(xxv) Naga Sharman	Harita	–	–	-do-	–	
		(xxvi) Magusa Sharman	Vishvamitra	–	–	-do-	–	
		(xxvii) Kuppa Sharman	Vishnuvriddha	–	–	-do-	–	
		(xxviii) Gula-gadida Sharman	Bharadvaja	–	–	-do-	A somayāji	
		(xxix) Mara Sharman	Kaushika	–	–	-do-	–	
		(xxx) Govinda Sharman	Kashyapa	–	–	-do-	–	

Sl. no.	Source	Name	Gōtra	Sākhā/ Caraṇa	Emigrated from	Immigrated to	Other remarks	Date
		(xxxi) Madhava Sharman	Vatsa	–	–	-do-	–	
		(xxxii) Drona Bhatta	Kaushika	–	–	-do-	–	
		(xxxiii) Rudra Sharman	Asmarathya	–	–	-do-	A somayāji	
		(xxxiv) Era Sharman Upadhyaya	Kashyapa	–	–	-do-	–	
		(xxxv) Rudra Sharman	Bharadvaja	–	–	-do-	–	
		(xxxvi) Dugga Sharman	-do-	–	–	-do-	An *āhitāgni* (One who maintains the sacrificial fire perpetually.)	
		(xxxvii) Vinaya Sharman	Shandilya	–	–	-do-	–	
		(xxxviii) Yajna Sharman	-do-	–	–	-do-	–	
		(xxxix) Nanda Sharman	-do-	–	–	-do-	A somayāji	
		(xl) Gana Sharman	Kaundinya	–	–	-do-	–	

Sl. no.	Source	Name	Gōtra	Sākhā/ Caraṇa	Emigrated from	Immigrated to	Other remarks	Date
		(xli) Madhava Sharman	-do-	–	–	-do-	An āhitāgni	
		(xlii) Shiva Sharman	Kaundinya	–	–	-do-	–	
		(xliii) Kotta Sharman	Atreya	–	–	-do-	An āhitāgni	
		(xliv) Pala Sharman	-do-	–	–	-do-	–	
		(xlv) Ala Sharman	-do-	–	–	-do-	–	
		(xlvi) Daita Sharman	-do-	–	–	-do-	–	
		(xlvii) Mara Sharman	-do-	–	–	-do-	–	
		(xlviii) Yajna Sharman	-do-	–	–	-do-	–	
		(xlix) Durga Sharman	-do-	–	–	-do-	–	
		(l) Shivamara Sharman, son of Madhava Ukthayaji, and his 5 brothers.	Kashyapa	–	–	-do-	All these individuals held shares in the granted village of Pallavatataka in Keregodu viṣaya.	

Sl. no.	Source	Name	Gōtra	Sākhā/ Caraṇa	Emigrated from	Immigrated to	Other remarks	Date
34.	Ramesh 1984, no. 3	Gatti Sharman	Konninda (Kaundinya [?])	–	Kangamangala	Perpusuru in Morasa nāḍu	A spurious record attributed to Madhava-varman I Ganga	8th century characters.
35.	Ramesh 1984, no. 39	Bana Sharman	Vatsa	Taittiriya	Vatapi	Baradur in Tegattur viṣaya	–	AD 725
36.	Ramesh 1984, no. 41	Vara Sharman and his brother Shiva Sharman	Haritayana	Chandoga kalpa	Turugalur	Not clear	–	AD 725–28
37.	Ramesh 1984, no. 42	Nandishvara Sharman, son of Madhava Sharman	Kashyapa	Taittiriya caraṇa, Pravacana kalpa	Kesammadi	Agali in Marugare viṣaya	Nandishvara Sharman adopted Mahava and Mara Sharman, the sons of his younger brother, Naga Sharman	AD 748
		(ii) Naga Sharman	-do-	-do-		-do-		
		(iii) Madhava Sharman	-do-	-do-		-do-		
		(iv) Mara Sharman	-do-	-do-		-do-		

Sl. no.	Source	Name	Gōtra	Śākhā/ Caraṇa	Emigrated from	Immigrated to	Other remarks	Date
38.	Ramesh 1984, no. 43	120 brahmanas including:				Belpur in Manale-alke-300 in Sinda viṣaya	Described as "well versed in 4 branches of learning and the Vedas and Vedāṅgas and Dharma-śāstras".	AD 751
		(i) Shiva Sharman	Angirasa	–	–			
		(ii) Ajja Sharman	-do-	–	–	-do-		
		(iii) Shridhara Sharma	-do-	–	–	-do-		
		(iv) Madhava Sharman	-do-	–	–	-do-		
		(v) Soma Sharman	Vashistha	–	–	-do-		
		(vi) Kumara Sharman	-do-	–	–	-do-		
39.	Ramesh 1984, no. 45	Madhava Sharman, son of Mara Sharman	Kashyapa	Vajasaneya śākhā	Tolar	Paruvi viṣaya	Land granted in 4 villages	AD 762–68
40.	Rice 1905, 10: Mb 80	Vella Sharman	–	–	Maduregil	Agali [?]	–	AD 761–68
41.	Ramesh 1984, no. 47	Nilakantha Sharman	Harita	Pravacana	–	Komara mangala in Pudukanda viṣaya (Kongu dēśa)	–	AD 771

Sl. no.	Source	Name	Gōtra	Sākhā/ Caraṇa	Emigrated from	Immigrated to	Other remarks	Date
42.	Ramesh 1984, no. 50	Shridhara, son of Poonnera	Bharadvāja	Taittiriya caraṇa, Pravacana kalpa	–	Kottimba in Manya viṣaya	Donee's grand-father praised for his knowledge, and his father for Vedic knowledge; his own leadership and strength emphasized. Took on brahmakshatriya attributes.	AD 799
43.	Ramesh 1984, no. 65	(i) Janardana	Garga	–	–	Kovalavettu village	Shareholders in the village	8th century AD
		(ii) Keshava Bhatta	Kaushika	–	–			
		(iii) Naga Sharman	Kashyapa	–	–	-do-		
44.	Rice 1905, 10: Kl 231	Dunduger, Nallattur Oḍeya	–	–	–	–	Brahmana identity discernible only because grant is decribed as brahmadēya.	Early 9th century AD

Sl. no.	Source	Name	Gōtra	Sākhā/ Caraṇa	Emigrated from	Immigrated to	Other remarks	Date
45.	Gopal et al. 1976, 5: Kn 49	Nagadeva Bhatta, son of Tadangutti Somayaji	Bharadvaja	Ṛg Veda	–	Perjjarangi	Donee's father described as "ever tasting soma juice and skilled in performance of sacrifies".	AD 819–20
46.	Ramesh 1984, no. 4	Damodara Bhatta	Bharadvaja	Chaluki-vadicha Ṛk śākhā	–	Bageyur in Badagare nāḍu-30	Spurious, ascribed to Harivarman Ganga	9th century characters
47.	Gopal et al. 1974, 3: Nj 402	Shivaryya	Vishvamitra, Aghamarsana pravara	Taittiriya śākhā	Ahicchatra to Sthanagundur in Vanavasi viṣaya	Shivayya-mangala in Gangavadi	Employed as advisor to Nitimarga Ereyanga II Ganga.	AD 904
48.	Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 354	Shivaryya	–	–	–	–	Maintained a thousand elephants in Konga nāḍu viṣaya for Ereyanga II.	AD 906

Sl. no.	Source	Name	Gōtra	Sākhā/ Caraṇa	Emigrated from	Immigrated to	Other remarks	Date
49.	Ramesh 1984, no. 138	Vadighanghala Bhatta, alias, Munjarya, son of Ayyapa Bhatta, grandson of Shridhara Bhatta	Parashara	Chaluki-vadicha caraṇa	Originally from Pippala agrahāra in Varata dēśa in the north	Bagiyur village in Badagare nāḍu-300 in Punnadu-6,000	A Jaina, advisor to Krishna III Rashtrakuta and pre-ceptor of Marasimha II	AD 962–63
50.	Ramesh 1984, no. 159	Kalaparya Bhatta	Kashyapa	–	Kanci dēśa	Addavurage in Dhavala viṣaya	Donees's grandfather described as learned in the Vedas and all sciences; his father was one who maintains the sacred fire perpetually *(agnihotri)*. Donee praised for his charity.	AD 968–69

Appendix IV

Dēvadāsi and Sūle

Dēvadāsis or female temple servants were modelled after the courtesans of the royal palace. The association of the courtesans with the royal palace is brought out in contemporary literary works. Thus, in the story of Bhadrabahu Bhatara in the *Vaḍḍārādhane*, Dharini Mahādēvi is accompanied by other queens *(arasiyarkaḷ)* of lower rank and the courtesans of the women's quarter *(peṇḍavāsada sūḷeyarkaḷ)* (Narasimhachar 1986, 124). Likewise, in the *Pampa Bhārata*, Draupadi was accompanied and attended by courtesans *(vāravilasinīyar)* on her way to the hall in which a bride would choose her husband *(swayamvaraśālā)* (Anantharangachar 1977, III.48 vacana). It was also evidently a custom for a princess to be gifted with courtesans when she was given away in marriage: in the *Vaḍḍārādhane*, King Dhatrivahana presents his daughter Abhayamati with "excellent courtesans" *(peṇḍavāsada aggala sūḷeyarkaḷ)* on her marriage with Gurudatta (Narasimhachar 1986, 193). In Ponna's *Shāntipurāṇam*, Indra and Upendra, the princes of Ratnapura, fight over Vasantasena, who had been bestowed as a bridal present *(baḷivaḷi)* on Indra's consort, Shrimati (Nagarajayya 1982, VI.74–75).

Other courtesans were attached to the royal court. This is brought out in Ranna's *Gadāyuddham*, which mentions the courtesans of the royal court *(ōlagada sūḷeyar)* and their song and dance (Kulkarni 1985, V.43). Pampa, in his description of Duryodhana's court, mentions the presence of women *(veṇḍir)* of the harem (peṇḍavāsada) and their entrancing music (Anantharangachar 1977, IX.26–29).

In inscriptions, too, there are references to courtesans who were evidently members of the harem of particular kings and chiefs. Thus, the Perur plates (Coimbatore taluk and district, Tamil Nadu) of Simhavarman of the Kaivara branch of the Gangas mention his favourite concubine *(rājapriyāya)*, Nandavva, at whose instance he granted land for a Jaina shrine (Ramesh 1984, 479-82 no. 155). Similarly, the Heggothara inscription (Chamarajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of the ninth century mentions Jogabbe, a courtesan (sūḷe) of Permāḍi, who was possibly the Ganga monarch (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 385). Likewise, the Bevinakuppe hero-stone (Pandavapura taluk, Mandya district)

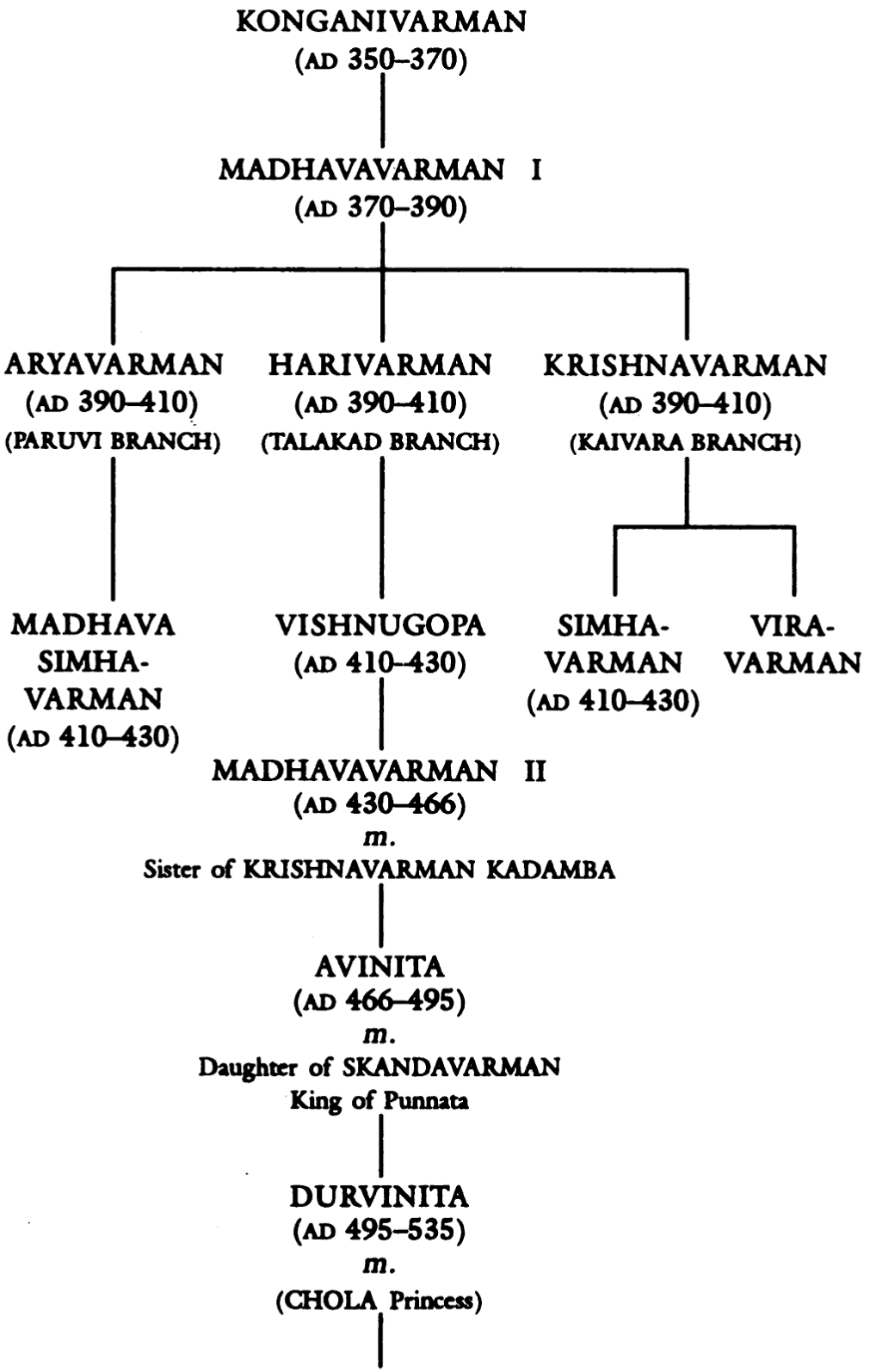
of the late ninth century refers to Birakka, the sūḷe of Pṛthivī Ganga (Gopal et al. 1977, 6: Ppu 253). Literary sources indicate that while the courtesans of the harem (peṇḍavāsada sūḷe) were meant for the physical enjoyment of the king and members of the royal family, the courtesans of the royal court (ōlagada sūḷe) were meant for providing entertainment to royal courtiers. This corresponds roughly to the distinction between the female temple servants or courtesans who waited on the aṅgabhōga and raṅgabhōga ceremonies of the temple deity. Yeligar opines that the aṅgabhōga was related to the bath, worship and offering of daily food (naivēdya) and the customary offering of betal leaf and areca nut *(tāmbūla)* to the deity; the courtesan who attended to these duties (aṅgabhōga sūḷe) thus enjoyed a higher status than the courtesan who provided the entertainment for the deity (raṅgabhōga sūḷe), since the former had the right to enter the sanctum sanctorum (garbhagṛha), while the latter were stationed in the dance hall (navaraṅga maṇḍapa) (Yeligar 1990, 55). Usha Naik and Aloka Parasher interpret aṅgabhōga as part of the duties to be performed by the courtesans (sūḷe), while raṅgabhōga was the responsibility of the *pātrā*, meaning dramatis personae, which came into vogue in Karnataka in the post-AD 1000 period. They adduce epigraphic evidence from northern Karnataka to support their view that these women were meant for the deity's enjoyment *(dēvarabhōgakke bhōgada sūḷeyar)*, and were attached to senior members of the temple staff (Naik and Parasher 1986, 68, 76). In this connection they point out that the *Matsya Purāṇam*, in its discussion of the services performed by the temple girls, gives prominent place to the service of kings, brahmanas and other clients. The children born of such unions would absolve parents of their sins (Naik and Parasher 1986, 77ff). This would indicate that while the temple girls were formally meant for the enjoyment of the deity, they could be exploited by the temple staff and patrons, much as the courtesans of the harem (peṇḍavāsada sūḷe) were the objects of enjoyment for the king and members of the royal family. The parallels between the palace and the temple would seem to support Naik and Parasher's perspective of the aṅgabhōga routine, but Yeligar's reconstruction of the aṅgabhōga as involving the bathing and offering of food (naivēdya) and tāmbūla is also plausible, though restrictive, and probably did constitute the courtesans' ritual duties.

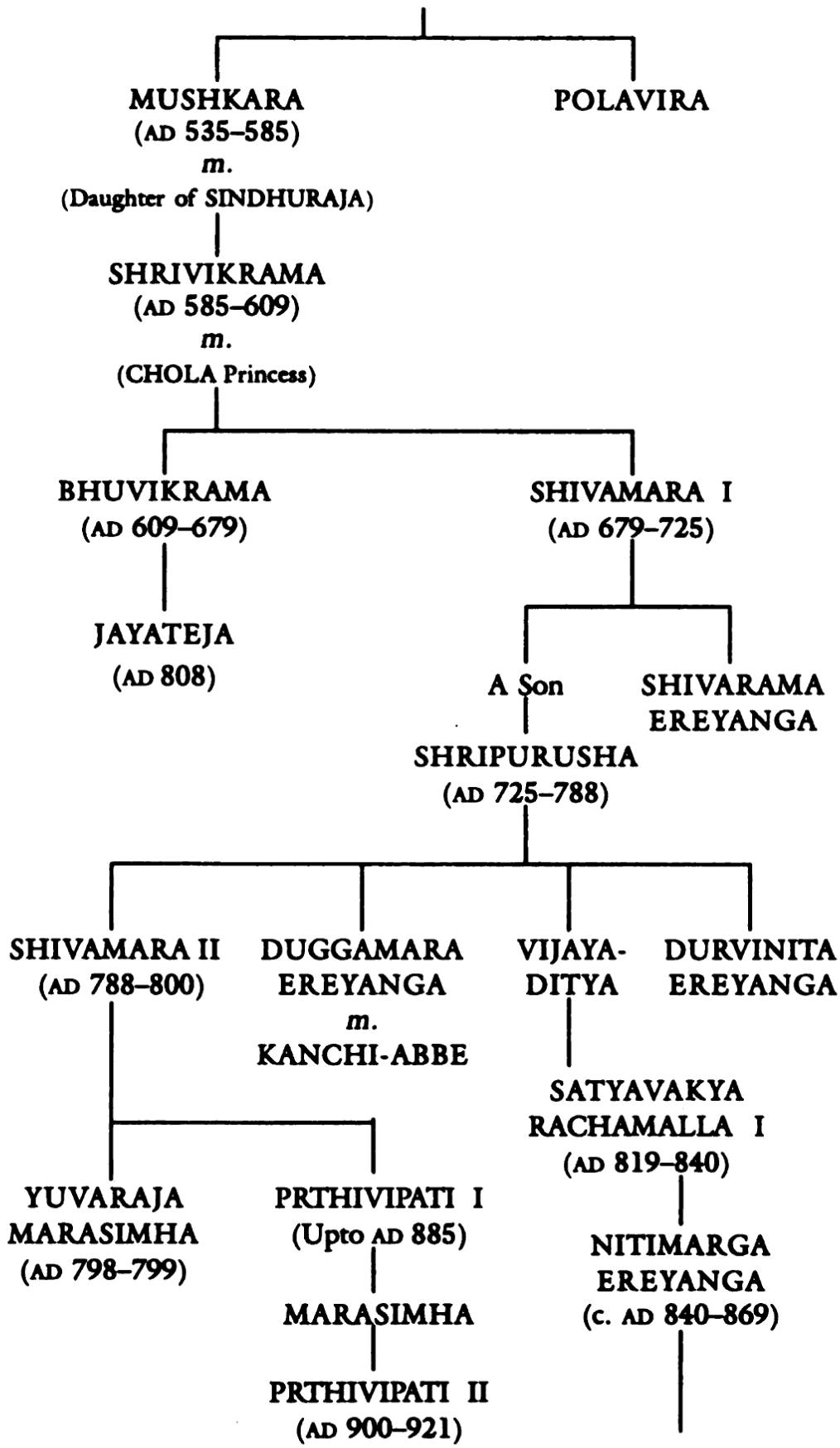
The Hecche inscription (Sorab Taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 939 is the only one of the epigraphic corpus to mention aṅgabhōga and raṅgabhōga, but it does not offer the slightest clue as to the nature of these rituals (Rice 1904, 8: Sb 476). There is evidence from other records of the presence of female servants of the diety (dēvaḍittiyēr), but their precise role in the temple ritual is again not elucidated. The earliest reference to the dēvaḍittiyēr comes from the Kigga inscriptions (Koppa taluk, Chikmagalur district) of the seventh century. The grant of a tax registered in the epigraph was to be enjoyed by the god's servants, which included the dēvaḍittiyēr (Rice 1901, 6: Kp 37). Similarly, the Bagali inscription (Chamrajanagar taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century registers the grant of some wet land for the dēvaḍittiyēr of the Bhujangeshvara temple at Balgaliyur (Gopal et al. 1975, 4: Ch 114). Neither of these inscriptions give any details of the function of these servants.

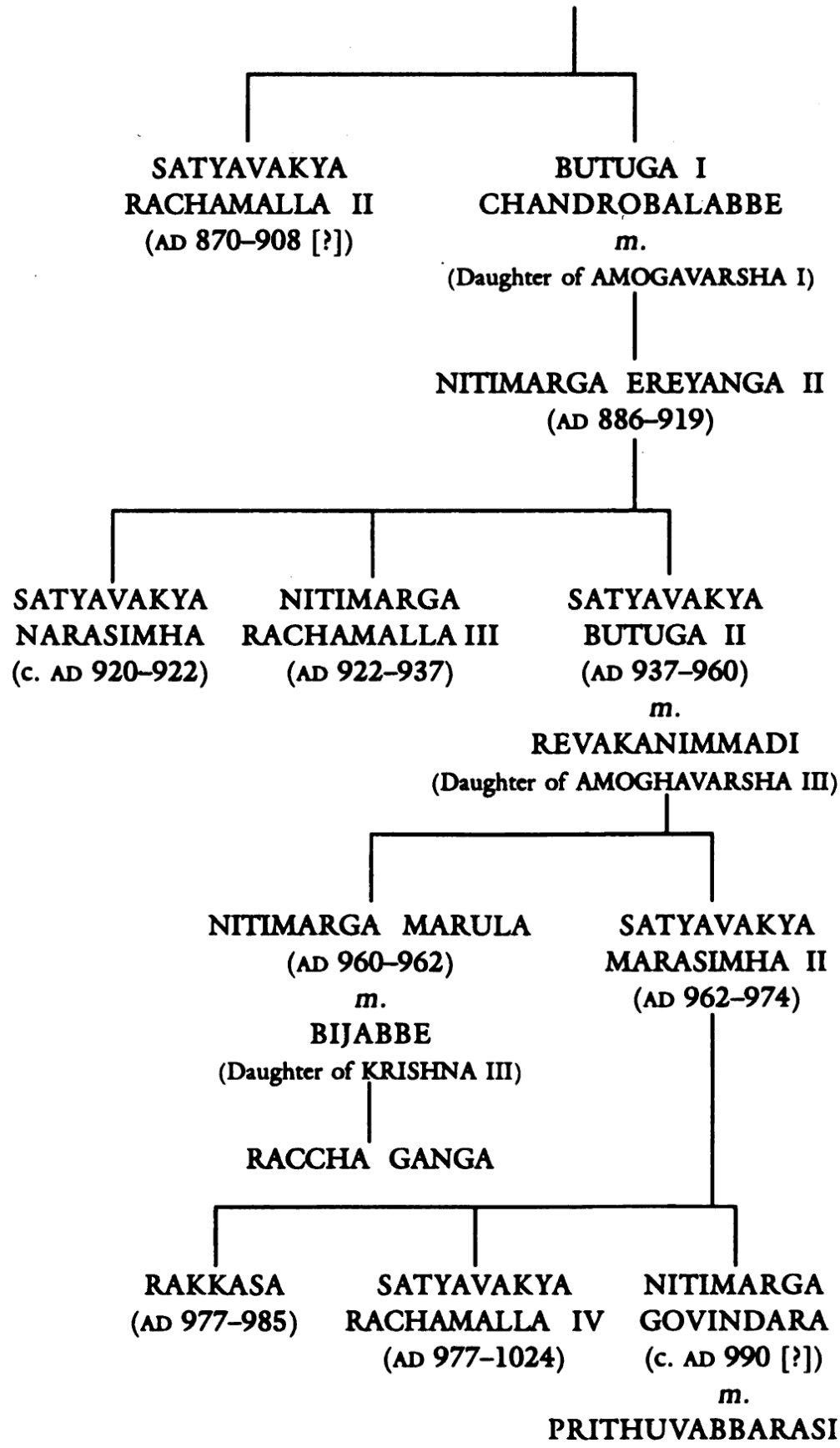
Lacking specific information in this context, it can only be presumed that dēvaḍittiyēr of southern Karnataka had specific ritual roles to play in the aṅgabhōga and raṅgabhōga of the deity and were additionally sexually exploited by senior members of the temple staff and its principal patrons, as were their counterparts in northern Karanataka.

Appendix V

Genealogy of the Western Gangas

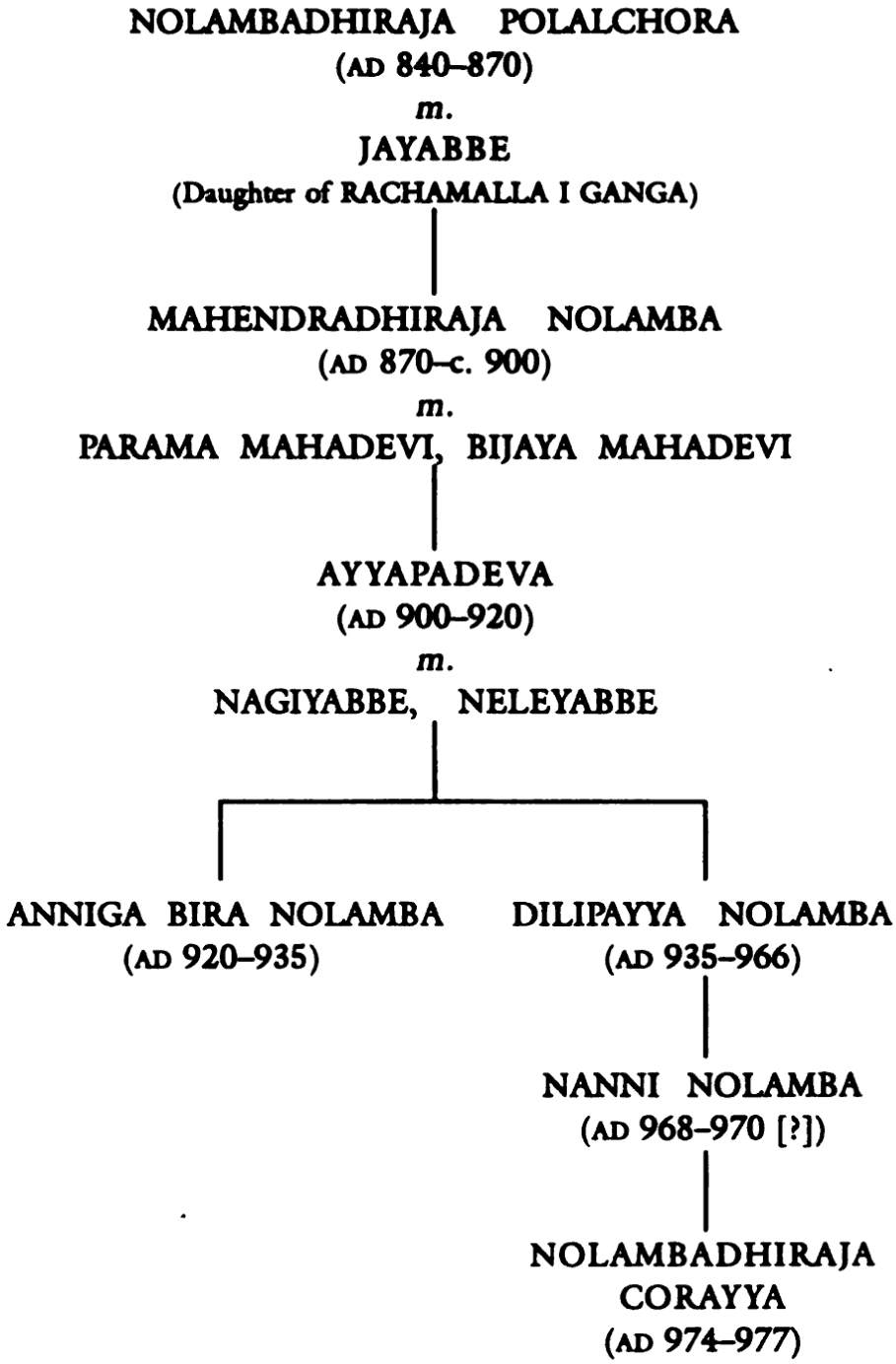



MUSHKARA
(AD 535–585)
m.
(Daughter of SINDHURAJA)
POLAVIRA
SHRIVIKRAMA
(AD 585–609)
m.
(CHOLA Princess)
BHUVIKRAMA
(AD 609–679)
SHIVAMARA I
(AD 679–725)
JAYATEJA
(AD 808)
A Son
SHIVARAMA EREYANGA
SHRIPURUSHA
(AD 725–788)
SHIVAMARA II
(AD 788–800)
DUGGAMARA EREYANGA
m.
KANCHI-ABBE
VIJAYA-DITYA
DURVINITA EREYANGA
SATYAVAKYA RACHAMALLA I
(AD 819–840)
YUVARAJA MARASIMHA
(AD 798–799)
PRTHIVIPATI I
(Upto AD 885)
NITIMARGA EREYANGA
(c. AD 840–869)
MARASIMHA
PRTHIVIPATI II
(AD 900–921)


SATYAVAKYA
RACHAMALLA II
(AD 870–908 [?])
BUTUGA I
CHANDROBALABBE
m.
(Daughter of AMOGAVARSHA I)
NITIMARGA EREYANGA II
(AD 886–919)
SATYAVAKYA
NARASIMHA
(c. AD 920–922)
NITIMARGA
RACHAMALLA III
(AD 922–937)
SATYAVAKYA
BUTUGA II
(AD 937–960)
m.
REVAKANIMMADI
(Daughter of AMOGHAVARSHA III)
NITIMARGA MARULA
(AD 960–962)
m.
BIJABBE
(Daughter of KRISHNA III)
SATYAVAKYA
MARASIMHA II
(AD 962–974)
RACCHA GANGA
RAKKASA
(AD 977–985)
SATYAVAKYA
RACHAMALLA IV
(AD 977–1024)
NITIMARGA
GOVINDARA
(c. AD 990 [?])
m.
PRITHUVABBARASI

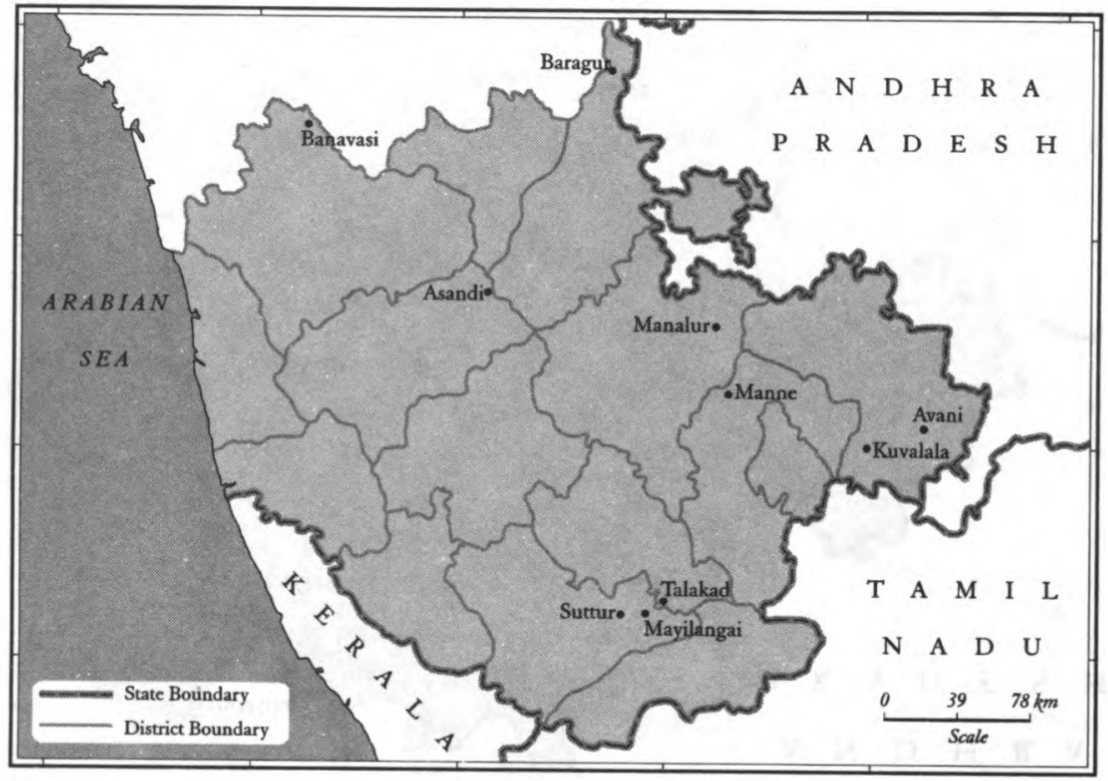
Appendix VI

Genealogy of the Nolambas

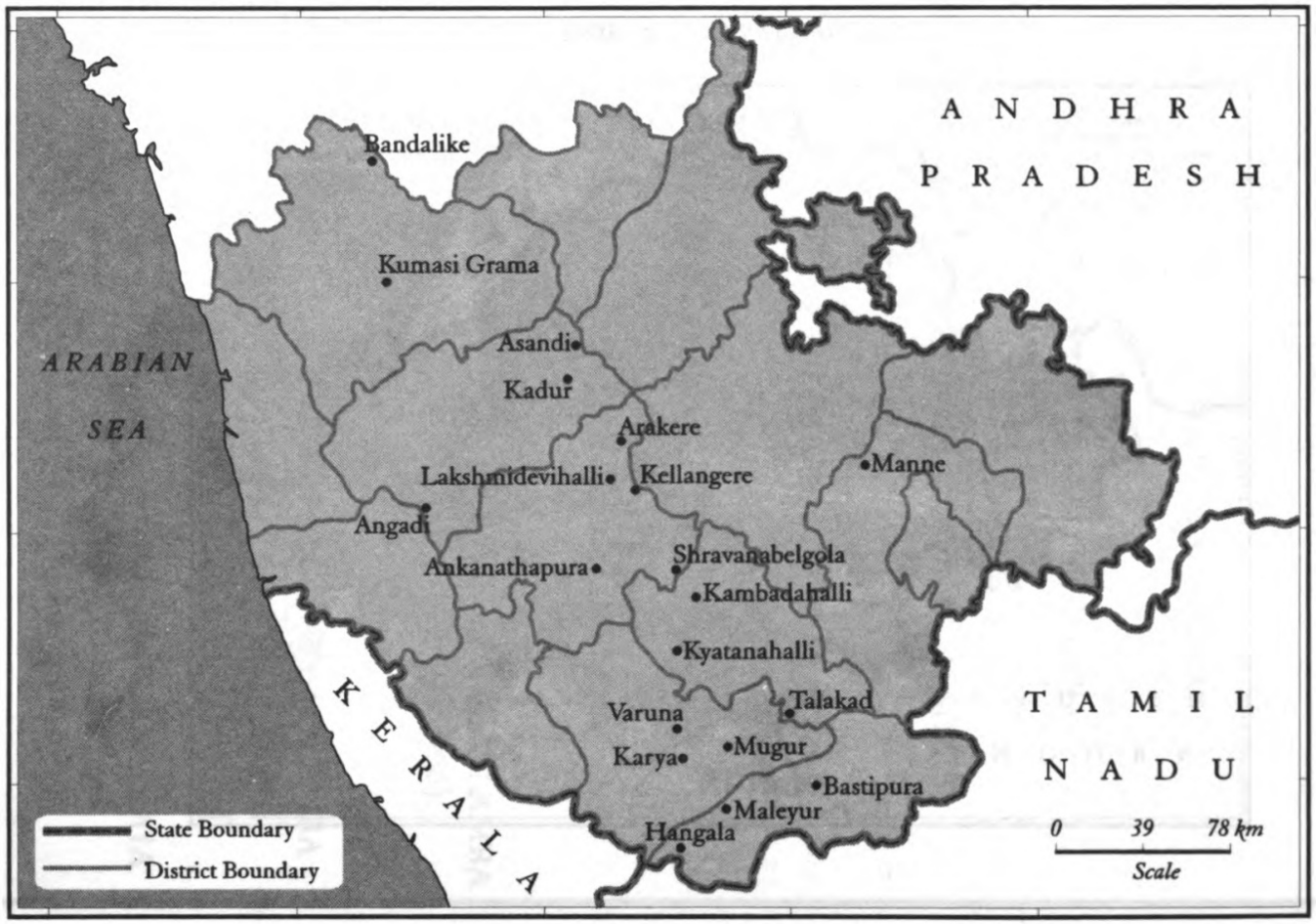


Appendix VII

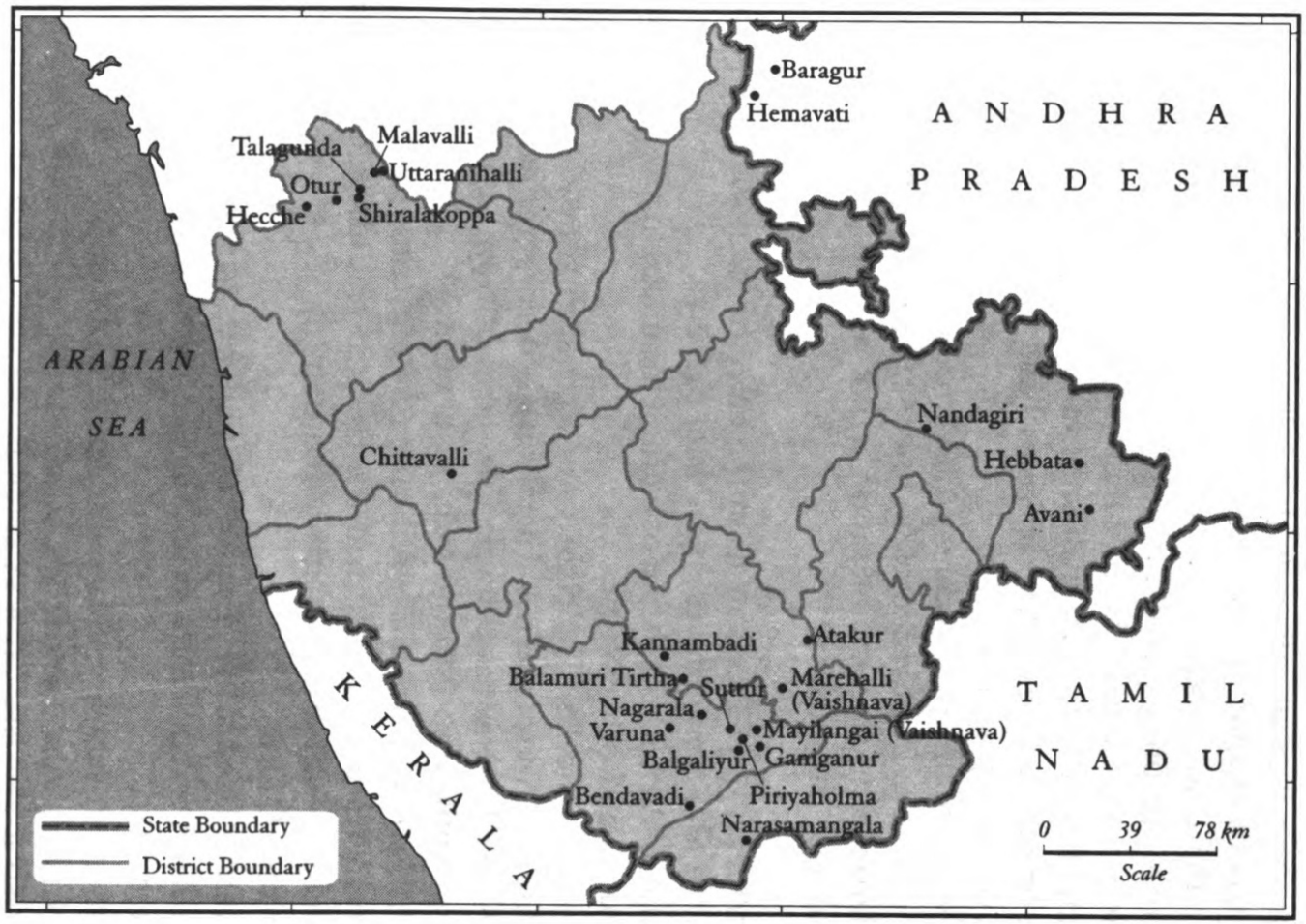
Maps



Map 4 Urban Centres



Map 5 Jaina Religious Sites



Map 6 Religious Centres (Shaiva and Vaishnava)

Explanatory Notes and Glossary

In reference citations to N. Anantharangachar, H. P. Nagarajayya, R. V. Kulkarni, B. S. Sannayya, Rame Gowda and K. L. Narasimha Sastri, the Roman numerals that follow the name refer to the *ashvasa* or chapter in the work by the author(s). The number after the colon refers to the verse in that chapter, and *vacana* refers to the prose portion that follows that particular verse.

Some words have been standardised throughout the text, although they have been spelt with variations in the inscriptions and literary sources. The variations have been included at the end of the explanation.

Proper nouns that occur in the vernacular phrases quoted in the text have been rendered in lower-case, in keeping with the understanding that capitalisation is not a concept used in the vernacular languages.

a-bhaṭa pravēśa: Freedom from the entry of royal soldiers. Also spelt as *a-bhaṭa pravēśam, a-bhata prāvēśya.*

abhiṣēka: A ritual consisting of bathing the image in milk, clarified butter and other articles.

abhyantara siddhi: The right to collect internal taxes and settle disputes. In southern Karnataka it also denoted rulership of a village. In some cases it was also used to convey that its conferee was entitled to freedom from royal taxes.

ācāri: Artisan, particularly referring to stone-cutters and smiths.

ācārya: A preceptor who had the right to read the sacred texts publicly and explain them authoritatively.

adhikāri: Officer.

ādivarāha lāñchchana: The seal bearing the boar emblem.

Āgama: A text or Tantra inculcating the mystical worship of Shiva and Śakti.

agrahāra: A rent-free village granted to brahmanas.

āḷ: Servant. Also spelt as *āḷu.*

āḷdana: Ruler. Also spelt as *āḷ, āḷva.*

aḷiya: Son-in-law or nephew. The same term is used for both in the Dravidian languages, which presume cross-cousin marriage.

amātya: A minister; sometimes an officer in charge of a district, generally a subordinate or feudatory ruler.

aṅgabhōga: Decoration of the image of the deity.

aṇkakāṟa: A leading hero or an influential servant of a lord.

antaḥkara viṣṭikam: A type of grant. From *antaḥkara* (internal income or taxes) and *viṣṭi* (forced labour). The donee of such a grant was exempt from the payment of internal dues and the rendering of forced labour. Sometimes he could charge these from the inhabitants of a village. Also spelt as *antaṣkara viṣṭikam.*

anuvrata: The limited, minor vows enjoined on laymen by Jainism.

araṇi : A local land measure [?].

āraṇya kṣētra: Forest land.

arasa: Ruler.

arasi: Queen.

aṣṭadikpāla: Guardians of the eight cardinal points of the compass or quarters of the sky—Indra, Varuna, Agni, etc.

bāḷgaḷchu: Literally, washing of the sword. The term also indicates the grant of land to a hero, probably accompanied by a sword-washing ceremony.

bali: An offering or propitiatory oblation of food or grain to gods, semi-divine beings, household divinities, spirits, men, animals and all beings. This ceremony forms a part of the sixteen acts of worship in a temple.

bāḷige: Living; land given as a rent-free holding.

basadi: A Jaina temple.

bāsavi: A daughter dedicated to a temple in order to provide an heir to her sonless father. Often dedicated in order to fulfil a vow, they inherited paternal property like a son. They lived like courtesans and could consort with anyone. Generally, the lowest castes followed the custom of dedicating daughters as *bāsavis.*

bēḍapaḷḷi: A Beda hamlet. Also spelt as *bēdavaḷḷi, bēdara-paḷḷi.*

bhāga: Originally, the king's share of the produce it later came to denote tax in general.

bhāga: A part (of a whole).

bhakti: Devotion.

Bhaṭāra: Derived from *bhartr* meaning lord, it is suffixed to the personal names of sovereigns and feudatories as well as applied to gods and priests in the sense of being worthy of worship. The Kannada corruption of *bhaṭṭāraka.* Also spelt as *bhaḷāra, bhaṭārar.*

bhatta: Paddy. Also spelt as *batta.*

bhaṭṭāraka: See, *Bhaṭāra.*

bhōga, bhōgya: Land for enjoyment; property. Often also tagged on to the name of a territorial unit, e.g., Korikunda bhōga.

bhukti: Originally meaning enjoyment, it subsequently came to signify property or fief, and in some cases is used as a term for a province including several *viṣaya*s and *maṇḍala*s.

biruda: Badge or title of honour.

biṭṭi: Forced labour. Also spelt as *viṣṭi, biṭṭa, viṭṭa.*

bittuvaṭṭa: A portion of the produce of the land irrigated by a tank, granted to the person who constructed the tank. Sometimes the land itself was thus granted. Also spelt as *biṭṭukatta, bittuvāṭa.*

brahmakshatriya: Brahmanas who took on ksatriya attributes after assuming secular professions, particularly those relating to administration.

brahmacāri: Practising sacred study as an unmarried male student observing chastity.

brahmadēya sabhā: Assembly of a brahmana village.

camūpati: A commander of the army.

cāraṇa: A Jaina term denoting power of motion through the air.

caraṇa: A school or branch of a Veda.

caru: An oblation of rice, barley and pulse, boiled with butter and milk, for presentation to gods or ancestors.

cāturvaidya: A brahmana learned in the four Vedas.

chaityālaya: A Jaina shrine. Also spelt as *chaitya* and *cēdiya*, the latter being the *tadbhava* form of chaitya.

dāna: Donation, gift.

daṇḍaṇyaka: Literally, commander of forces. In the early medieval period, when titles overlapped, it was held generally by *samantas* and *mahāsāmantas.*

dēgula: Temple. Also spelt as *dēgulava.*

dēvaḍittiyēr: Female temple servants.

dēvabhōga: Land given for the enjoyment of temples.

dēva dāna: Land given for the enjoyment of temples.

dēvadāsi: A female temple servant, usually a courtesan attached to the temple.

dharmaśāstra: Hindu law-books.

dhūpa: Offering of incense before the deity. This ceremony forms a part of the sixteen acts of worship in a temple.

dhvaja: Flag.

digambaravrata: Literally, taking the vow of nudity, it referred to taking vows as a Jaina monk.

dīpa: Lamp.

dīpārādhanā: Worshipping the idol with a lamp.

dvātriṁśat parihāra: A gift free of thirty-two types of hinderances.

ettukoḷ: Impressment of bullocks.

gaccha: A section of a Jaina monastic order.

gadde: Wet land, especially paddy land. Also spelt as *gaḷde*, *gaṛde*.

gadyāṇa: (Gold) coin

gāmiga: Village headman or substantial landholder. The term occurs mainly in inscriptions from Shimoga and in the context of the defence of *nāḍus* as a corporate unit.

gāmigitti: Wife of a *gāmiga*.

gaṇa: A section of a Jaina monastic order.

gaṇini: The head of the nuns' community in Jainism.

gauḍa: A later variant of *gāvuṇḍa*, a headman.

gāvuṇḍa: Headman of a village; it probably derived from *grāmakūta*, of the same meaning.

gāvuṇḍi: Headwoman of a village.

gāvuṇḍu: Headship of a village.

ghaṭika: An educational institution or an establishment of learned men, mostly brahmanas, who wielded a great deal of political influence as well.

gōrava: Shaiva monk.

gōsahasra: A thousand cows.

gōsāsa: One who had the ability to gift (a thousand) cows.

gōsāsi: One who owned or could gift (a thousand) cows.

gōtra: Lineage. Also spelt as *sagōtra*.

grāma: Village. Also spelt as *gāma*.

gurugaṇa: A section of a Jaina monastic order.

hōma: Specifically the act of making an oblation to the gods by casting clarified butter into the fire, it also generally means sacrifice.

indra: Literally, a lord of heaven. Jaina cosmogony conceives of a large number of heavens, and their kings are always known as *indra*. The name of a heaven is prefixed to *indra* to indicate the specific king.

jajmāni: Deriving from *yajamana*, it denotes a system in which occupational specialists were attached to a village and performed services for the agriculturists for which they were paid with shares of the village produce or with small plots of land from which they met their basic needs.

janapada: Territorial division; a rural area.

jāti: Position assigned by birth or caste. It came to denote the numerous endogamous groups within each *varna*.

jinabhavana: Literally, house of the *Jina;* a Jaina temple.

jinābhiṣēka: Bathing of the idol of the *Jina* in milk, honey and other sanctified liquids.

jinagēha: A Jaina temple

jinakalpa: The Jaina tradition of roaming as solitary ascetics prescribed for monks.

jinālaya: A Jaina temple.

jōḷa: A generic name for several species and varieties of millet.

jōḷapāḷi: Literally, debt of the *jōḷa;* the obligation of a warrior to fight for the master who feeds him. Also spelt as *jōḷada-pāḷi.*

kaḻani: A paddy field.

kaḻañju: Gold coin.

kalnāḍ: A grant in recognition of valour or military service. Also spelt as *kalnāṭu, bāḷgaḻchu.*

kalpa: Injunction, rule or practice in accordance with the Vedas; branch of the *Vedangas* prescribing rituals for ceremonies.

kālūr: Small village.

kar-ragi: The crop of finger millet sown during the often heavy pre-monsoon showers (which peak in May).

kara: A tax payable to the state.

kammāṟa: A blacksmith.

kārāṇme: The right of ploughing; the tax collected from those holding such a right.

kāṇi: A hereditary right of possession of land.

kārṣāpaṇa: A gold, silver or copper coin one *kārṣā* in weight. A copper *kārṣāpaṇa* was occasionally referred to merely as *pana.*

kaṭaka: Camp or capital.

Kaṭakada-gōva: Officer in charge of the cattle of the camp or captial, or the protector of such a place.

khaṇḍuga: A land measure. According to D. C. Sircar, one *khaṇḍuga* amounts to 64,000 square yards of dry land and 10,000 square yards of wet land. This term generally occurs in later inscriptions (eighth century onwards).

khaṇḍuka: A measure of capacity.

khaṇḍukāvāpa: The area of land required to sow one *khaṇḍuka* measure of seed grains.

koḷa: A pond. Also spelt as *goḷa.*

koḷaga: A land measure. Also spelt as *goḷa, goḷaga, koḷa, kuḷa.*

kōṭe: A fort.

kudaba: A measure of capacity.

kula: Family or race.

Kuṟimba gāvuṇḍa: Headman of the shepherds [?].

kuṟimbadeṟe: Tax on shepherds.

kuṟipaṭṭi: A sheep fold or a shepherds' settlement.

kiṟudeṟe: Minor taxes. Also spelt as *kuṟudeṟe, kaṟudeṟe* [?].

lāñchana: Royal seal.

lōha dramma: Copper coin.

mahādēvi: Chief queen

mahāgrahāra: A great *agrahāra.* An *agrahāra* was a rent-free village granted to brahmanas.

mahāgrāma: A great or main village.

Mahājana: The corporate body of a brahmana *agrahāra,* a rent-free village granted to brahmana(s).

magatin: Servant or tenant. Also spelt as *mane-magatin.*

mahādāna: Great donation or gift.

Mahāmaṇḍalika: A great chief of a province.

Mahāsāmantā: Chief feudatory.

Mahāsāmantādhipati: A feudatory with a rank higher than a *Mahāsāmanta.*

Mahāmantri: A chief minister. It later became a title for feudatory rulers and a rank in the feudal hierarchy.

Mahāmātya: A higher-ranking minister. Also applied to a higher rank of *pergaḍes.*

mahāvrata: Great penance or vow.

makki: Rice land above the level of a valley, which requires watering but produces a bountiful harvest.

mānastambha: A tall, elegant pillar with a small pinnacled canopy at the top, erected in front of Jaina temples.

maṇḍala: A district or province. This term was often used to connote territory or the country ruled by a dynasty, e.g., Ganga *maṇḍala*. In the Chola dispensation, the *maṇḍalam* was the largest administrative unit, comprising of *valanāḍus* and *nāḍus*.

Maṇḍalika: Ruler of a *maṇḍala* or district; title of a feudatory chief.

mane: House.

mane maga: Literally, son of the house. It applied to warriors tied by oath to the chief or king, who often sacrificed themselves on the death of their lord.

mane magatin: pl. of *mane-maga.*

Mane-oḍeya: Literally, lord of the house; probably connoted a superintendent of the royal household.

Mane-vergaḍe: Superintendant of the royal household.

maṇṇadeṟe: Tax on land

mannēya: Rent-free holding.

mantra: Vedic hymn or a sacrificial formula that was part of the *Ṛg, Yajur* or *Sama* Vedas.

mānya: Rent-free or tax-free land; later used in the sense of estate.

māstikal: Memorial stone for a *sati.*

maṭha: Monastery.

mattar: A land measure, same as *nivarttana*. Also spelt as *mattal.*

mīrās: The right to a plot of land and to a complex of rights to lands, houses, water, etc., and the enjoyment of taxes and privileges.

mudrā: Positions or intertwining of fingers that denote particular attributes or feelings in iconography and dance. *Mudrās* are also used in worship and are believed to possess great magical potency and efficacy.

mūlasthāna: Original or principal place. The original temple of a village.

mūviṭṭigaṁ: The three forms of labour mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra.*

Nāḍabōva: An accountant at the *nāḍu* level; a title derived thereof.

nāḍu: A planted, cultivated country; a district; an agrarian unit with a corporate identity also used for administrative purposes. It usually carried numerical suffixes indicating the number of villages therein. Also spelt as *nāl, nāḍ.*

nagara: Town. According to literary texts, it was a settlement surrounded by a wall and a moat, and marked by the prevalence of mercantile and artisanal guilds. The term is also used to connote the local corporate body of the town. Also spelt as *nakara, nakhara.*

nagaram: Town or exchange centre.

Nagarattār: Members of the Nagara assembly.

naivēdya: Daily food offerings to the gods.

Nālgāmiga: Nāḍu-level officers responsible for its defence.

Nālgāvuṇḍa: Head of the *Nāḍu.* Also spelt as *nārgāvuṇḍa, nāḍgāvuṇḍa.*

nālgāvuṇḍu: Headship of the *Nāḍu.*

nāḷi: A grain measure. Also spelt as *nalika.*

namaskāramantra: An invocation to the Five Preceptors *(pañcaparamēṣṭhin)* in the Jaina Puranas.

nandādīpa: Perpetual lamp. The practice of keeping a lamp perpetually burning before the deity. This ceremony forms a part of the sixteen acts of worship in a temple. Also spelt as *nandādīvige.*

navaraṅga maṇḍapa: The dance hall where the deity and worshippers were entertained.

Nāṭṭār: Members of a *Nāḍu* assembly, mostly landholders of the *nāḍu.* Also spelt as *Nāṭṭom.*

nāyaka: The title of a subordinate ruler, often a head of a *nāḍu* or district. In certain cases, it denoted a military officer.

niṣidhi: Tomb.

nivarttana: An area of land. The precise measure varied over time and with location.

Nitya: A form or name of the goddess Durga or Śakti in the Tantric texts.

niyama: A lesser vow or minor observance dependent on external conditions and not as obligatory as *yama.*

niyōgi: An official.

Oḍeya: Lord, chief or leader.

okkaḷ: Tenant.

paḍiyaṟa: Doorkeeper who informed the king of visitors.

pañcakṣarapada: An invocation to the Five Preceptors *(pañca-paramēṣṭhin)* in the Jaina Puranas.

pañcamahāpātaka: The five great sins, enumerated as killing of a brahmana, theft, drinking intoxicating liquors, adultery and associating with those guilty of these crimes.

pañcamahāśabda: The use of the five great instruments.

pañcamahāvrata: The five great vows of a Jaina monk. They consisted of truth, abstention from stealing, chastity, non-violence and non-possession.

pañcamahāyajña: The five great devotional acts of worship of the brahmanas, the deities *(deva)*, the ancestors *(pitri)*, of men *(manushya)* and of all creatures and spirits *(bhuta)* by leaving offerings or *bali*, often at crossroads.

pañcanamaskāra: An invocation to the Five Preceptors *(pañca-paramēṣṭhin)* in the Jaina Puranas.

pañcāṇuvrata: The five lesser vows.

pañcapada: An invocation to the Five Preceptors *(pañca-paramēṣṭhin)* in the Jaina Puranas.

paṅgōtkōṭa: A tax payable to the state.

Pannirvaru: The Twelve, a corporate body.

parihṛta paṅgōtkōṭam: Exemption from all taxes and levies payable to the king.

parīṣaha: Hardships experienced by a monk or ascetic in the course of his penance in the form of hunger, thirst, heat or cold, attacks by insects or wild animals, etc.

paṭṭa: Chaplet. Also spelt as *vaṭṭa*.

paṭṭabandha: Coronation or act of tying the chaplet, signifying position or status, by the overlord.

pattondi: A tax of one-tenth of the produce levied by the ruler within his domain.

peṇḍir uḍeyuḷcal: Literally, loosening the garments of women; assault on women.

Pergaḍe: Superintendent. The Kannada variant of the Sanskrit *adhyakṣa*, he was associated with *abhyantara siddhi* rights over villages. Higher-ranking *pergaḍes* held the rank of *Mahāmatya*. In literary works *pergaḍes* are envoys.

Permāḍi: Used generally as a personal name, it may be related to *Permānaḍi.*

Permānaḍi: The Kannada variant of *Perumanāḍigal,* which is a Tamil term of reverence applied to gods and kings. The title was used by the Gangas after Bhuvikarma defeated the Pallava ruler to whom it was generally applied.

poḷal: Town. Also spelt as *poḷala, poḷalu.*

Prabhu: A village notable who, together with other *prabhus,* demarcated land and acted as a witness to land grants. In some cases he made grants and allowed remissions of revenue.

praśasti: Eulogy.

pratilōma: Literally, against the hair; marriage between a woman of a higher caste and a man from the lower castes.

pravara: A sub-division of a *gōtra* or exogamous family group consisting of three names of ancestors.

puṇya: Moral or religious merit.

pura: Town.

pura dramma: A coin.

purōhita: Priest.

puṭṭigōja: Of uncertain meaning, either an impost on baskets (*putti* meaning a basket of cane, bamboo or Palmyra leaves; *goju* meaning entanglement), or a tax payable by a tenant on the birth of a son.

raṅgabhōga: Entertainment of the deity.

rāṣṭra: Term for district, usually synonymous with viṣaya and used in its stead in some cases, e.g., *Marugare rāṣṭra.*

rudra lōka: Rudra's world or heaven. For Shaivas, the ultimate liberation meant residence here.

sabhā: Assembly (of the brahmana village).

śākha: A branch or school of the Veda, each school adhering to its own traditional text and interpretation.

Śakti: Energy or active power of a deity personified as his wife and worshipped by the Sakta sect of the Hindus under various names; the symbol of the mother-goddess, the *yoni,* which is found in conjunction with the liṅga.

śālai: An educational institution or an establishment of learned men, mostly brahmanas, who wielded a great deal of political influence as well.

samādhi: Shrine for the dead.

samādhi maraṇa: A Jaina vow of voluntary ritual death.

sāmantadeṟe: Literally tax *(teṟe)* on the *sāmantas*; might imply either a tribute paid by the *sāmantas* or the tax paid by the tenants to the deputy of the sovereign who held authority in a particular area.

Sāmanta Sēnādhipati: A feudatory and commander of the king's armies.

Samaya: Assembly of a group of merchants [?].

sāmāyika śikṣā vrata: Vows adopted by Jaina laymen calculated to inculcate equanimity *(samayika).*

saṁskāra: A sanctifying or purificatory rite or essential ceremony enjoined on the first three castes.

sāmya: Ownership.

sana: Place of worship.

Sandhivigrahi: Minister in charge of war and peace.

saṅgha: The collective body or association of a section of Jaina monks.

sanyasana: A Jaina vow of voluntary death.

saptamātṛka: The collective name of the seven goddesses—Aindri, Varahi, Vaishnavi, Brahmi, Maheshvari, Kaumari and Chamundi. They are usually depicted as a group with their respective attributes and flanked by Virabhadra and Ganapati.

sarva bādhā parihāra: Free of all hindrances. The term was used even when exemptions related to some specific taxes only. Also spelt as *sarva pādhā parihāra, sarva parihāra, sa bādhā parihāra and sarva parihārai parihartavya.*

śāstra: Sacred and secular texts and authorities.

śastra: Weapons.

satkula: Pure lineage.

sati: A widow who followed her husband in death.

sat shūdra: Approximately, a pure sudra. In South India, the dominant landowning castes, the *gāvuṇḍas* in Karnataka, the *veḷḷālas* in Tamil Nadu, etc., are categorised as sudras but claim higher status than other sudra groups by calling themselves *sat shūdra.*

Sēnabōva: Village accountant.

Sēnādhipati: A general, or leader of the armed forces.

Sēnāpati: Commander-in-charge (of an army).

sejje: A tall, stout grass cultivated for its grain.

śeṭṭi: A trader. The term was also used on occasion for landholders and chiefs of the Ganiga community.

śeṭṭivaṭṭa: Chaplet conferring the title of *Śeṭṭi.*

Shaivāgama: Shaiva texts detailing the worship of Shiva.

siddhāya: Land tax.

siddhi: Supernatural powers. In some cases it also means beatitude, complete sanctification and final emancipation.

śikhara: The temple tower atop the sanctum sanctorum.

skandhāvāra: A camp.

sollage : A measure of capacity.

sōmayāji: A performer of the *soma* sacrifice, which involves the offering of the juice of the *soma* plant *(Sacrostema viminalis* or *Asckeouas acida).*

śramaṇa: A Jaina monk [?].

śrāvaka: A layman disciple of Jainism.

śrāvaka vrata: The vows for lay disciples in Jainism.

sravana: Denotes a Buddhist or Jaina monk.

śrāvikā: A laywoman disciple of Jainism.

Śrēṇi: An itinerant trade guild.

Śrēṣṭhi: A trade guild.

śrōtrīya: The educational qualification of brahmanas; being well-versed in the Vedas.

sthāna: Literally, a place. It is generally used as an abbreviation for *dēvasthana* or temple, and sometimes refers to a locality or village.

sthānaṁ: Place of worship.

sūḷe: Courtesan.

śulka: Tolls, custom duties or octroi duties

śungabhṛtya: Literally, servants of the Sunga kings. The short-lived Kanva dynasty's founder had been subordinate to the Sungas.

Suṅka vergaḍe: A toll collector.

sūtra: Works or manuals consisting of strings of short sentences or aphoristic rules on ritual, philosophy, grammar, etc.

tadbhava: Used here to indicate a word corrupted from the Sanskrit.

taḷavṛtti: Land granted to a temple or deity at the time of consecration or renovation. It was usually rent free.

tapa: Meditation and/or mortification of the flesh.

tapas: Religious austerities.

tīrtha: A holy location; a place of pilgrimage.

toḷtu: Slave.

tōraṇa: An arch; arched doorway or portal; festooned decoration over a doorway.

toṭṭa: Garden land. Also spelt as *toṇṭa, tōṭa.*

triratna: Literally, the Three Jewels; the three cardinal dicta of Jainism—right knowledge, right belief and right worship.

tuṟuaḷma: Possessor of cows.

tuṟugōl: Cattle raid.

tuṟuvaḷḷa: Cowherd

tuṟuvaḷti: Cowherdess.

tuṟuvan ikkisi: Rescue and recovery of cattle.

tuṟuvan maguḷci: Rescue and recovery of cattle.

upacāra: Acts of reverence performed during worship of the deity, such as offering a seat, water to wash the feet, betel leaf, the offering of food, incense, lamp, etc. Upto sixty-four such acts are enumerated in the *Tantrasara*, but only sixteen are generally performed.

ūr: Village; peasant settlement. The term denotes both the village, excluding the brahmana *agrahāra*, and the corporate group thereof. The members of the *ūr* were the major landowners of the village.

ūr-aḻivu: Destruction of a village.

ūrgāvuṇḍa: Head of a village.

ūrgāvuṇḍu: Headship of a village.

ūr-oḍeya: An individual holding land in a village. In Karnataka, the term could indicate both brahmana and non-brahmana landholders.

ūrpāḷ: Village waste land. Also spelt as *pāḷu.*

vahanakarma: One of the three forms of forced labour described in the *Arthaśāstra.*

vaikhānasa: Originally, a brahmana in the third stage of his life or a hermit. By derivation from the name *vaikhāna* (Vishnu) it also denotes a sect of Vaishnavas who seemed to have developed into a Tantric sect later on. The *Vaikhānasa Tantra* is mentioned in the *Bhagavata Purana* of the tenth century.

valanāḍu: A territorial unit comprising of several *nāḍus* evolved by Rajaraja I Chola and introduced in southern Karnataka during his reign. Several *valanāḍus* constituted a *maṇḍalam.*

vaṁśa: Descent
vaṁśi: Descendant.
vaṁśaja: A descendant, one who is born in the *vaṁśa.*
vānara dhvaja: Flag with a monkey emblem, symbol of the Kadambas.
varṇa: Caste.
varṇa saṁkara: Mixture or confusion of castes through intermarriage, considered one of the causes of the prevalence of unrighteousness.
varṇāśramadharma: Duties of the caste and order
vasati: Jaina temple.
vēḷe: Retainer
vēḷevāḷi: Loyal retainer.
veli: A land measure.
Veḷḷālar: The local landholding elite in Tamil Nadu.
vidyā dāna: Grants made for supporting education.
vijaya skandhāvāra: Victory camp.
vīrgal, virakal: A hero-stone, commemorating the exploits and most often the death of a hero.
viṣaya: District or province. Sometimes used to indicate the territory of a lineage, e.g., Sendraka *viṣaya.* Later replaced by the term *nāḍu.*
visti: Forced labour. Also spelt as *viṭṭa, biṭṭa, biṭṭi.*
voyga: A corruption of the Sanskrit *bhogya—those* who enjoyed income from land; a landowner
vrata: Vow.
vṛṣabha lāñchana: Seal embossed with a bull, symbol of the Kadambas.
vṛtti: Living; land given as rent-free holding.
yajña: Sacrificial rites.
yakṣa: Male attendant to the *Jinas.*
yakṣi: Female attendant to the *Jinas.*
yama: A great moral rule or duty involving restraint and self-forbearance. In some sources, ten *yamas* are mentioned but only five are usually enumerated.
yantra: Mystic diagrams.
yōgapaṭṭa: A cloth thrown over the back and knees of a devotee during meditation.
yuvarāja: Crown prince.

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